Fall October 2011

Education Policy on Extra Classes: Implications for Secondary Education in Northern Ghana

Camillo Abatanie Bonsuuri
Loyola Marymount University, cbonsuuri83@gmail.com

LOYOLA MARYMOUNT UNIVERSITY

Education Policy on Extra Classes:

Implications for Secondary Education in Northern Ghana

by

Camillo Abatanie Bonsuuri

A dissertation presented to the Faculty of the School of Education,

Loyola Marymount University,

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

Doctor of Education

2011

Education Policy on Extra Classes:

Implications for Secondary Education in Northern Ghana

by

Camillo Abatanie Bonsuuri

Loyola Marymount University
School of Education
Los Angeles, CA 90045

This dissertation written by Camillo Abatanie Bonsuuri, under the direction of the Dissertation Committee, is approved and accepted by all committee members, in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education.

4-20-11
Date

Dissertation Committee

Mary McCullough, Ph.D., Committee Chair

Shane P. Martin, Ph.D., Committee Member

Kevin Baxter, Ed.D., Committee Member

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND DEDICATION

To God, who deserves all the credit for all that we are and all that we achieve.

To the Archdiocese of Tamale (Ghana) and the Archdiocese of Los Angeles (California, USA), and their Archbishops and Vicars for Clergy, for making it possible to avail myself of the opportunity to pursue the Ed.D. program. Also, to the pastors and parishioners of St. Anthony (El Segundo), St. Mariana de Paredes (Pico Rivera), Holy Redeemer (Montrose), St. James the Less (La Crescenta), and St. Catherine Labouré (Torrance), for giving me residence and various forms of assistance.

To all persons who gave me material, financial as well as moral support and encouragement, including: Mrs. Shirley Merrill, the Edays, the Raggios, the Bosaks, Mrs. Kathy Dutchess, the Amuraos, the Fawcettes, the Martinellis, the Matas, and many others. To Loyola Marymount University (LMU) for providing scholarship grants and an excellent learning environment. To Marilyn Tullius at Ace Words, Etc., for her efficient editorial work.

To my learned and indefatigable Chair, Prof. Mary McCullough, whose keen interest and resourcefulness gave me just what I needed to keep going to the very end. To the other two members of my dissertation team, Prof. Shane Martin and Dr. Kevin Baxter, for accompanying me devotedly and sharing their immense knowledge and experience.

To the knowledgeable and experienced participants in this study, for the invaluable knowledge and insights they shared. To other persons who shared documents and suggestions, including Archbishop Philip Naameh, Prof. Bagulo Bening, Mr. Chris Bakaweri, and Mr. Samuel Zan. To my niece, Ophelia Nubabaare, and my nephew, Joel Nubabaare, who helped unearth documents essential to this study.

Finally, I dedicate this work to my dear parents of blessed memory, Mr. Denis Bonsuuri and Mrs. Mary-Magdalene Dabuo Bonsuuri, who, while remaining unlettered themselves, spared no sacrifice to ensure that I was not denied the education that their own era and circumstances had failed to provide them.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND DEDICATION iii

LIST OF TABLES x

LIST OF FIGURES xi

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS xii

ABSTRACT xiii

CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY 1
Introduction 1
Problem Statement 1
Basic Facts about Ghana 2
Education in Ghana 5
General Outline of the Ghana Education System 6
Secondary Education 7
Senior High School Schedule 7
WAEC Senior High School Examinations 8
Impact of WAEC Senior High School Certificate Examinations 10
Prospects for Secondary School Graduates 10
Context for the Study 13
Purpose and Significance of the Study 13
Research Questions 15
Research Design and Methodology 15
Theoretical and Empirical Frameworks 16
Assumptions 16
Limitations of the Study 17
Delimitations of the Study 18
Definition of Terms 18
Operational Definition of Extra Classes 18
Organization of the Study 20
Summary 20

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW 22
Introduction 22
Research Focus: Purpose, Significance, Questions, and Methodology 22
Theoretical Lens: Education Stratification 23
Main Inequities Impacting Education Stratification in Ghana 25
Socioeconomic Stratifications 25
Gender Inequities 27
Spatial Stratifications 31
Rural-Urban Disparity 31
North-South Disparity 33

Colonial Legacy ……42
Roots of Constricted Development of Education in Northern Ghana 47
British Colonial Education Effort and Policy …..……47
The Missionary Contribution ……48
Obstacles to Education Development in Northern Ghana ……50
The Seeds of North-South Education Stratification ….....……56
Other Enhancers of Education Stratification 59
Macro-Structural Factors ……..……59
National Education Policies ……..59
Globalization, Structural Adjustment and Cost Sharing Policies …….62
Family and School Factors ……64
Family Factors ……..……66
School Factors ……...……67
Time Management and Education Stratification 68
Time Management in Ghana Schools ……68
Disparities in Equity, Adequacy, Access, and Participation.....73
Empirical Framework 76
Basic and Secondary Education Studies Conducted in Ghana ……76
Accra Research Department, WAEC. (1993) ……76
RAINS Consultancy (1997) ……...……78
Education Reform Studies ……79
Avotri (1993) …….……79
De Heer-Amissah, et al. (Education Reform Review Committee) (1994) ……80
Studies on Nonproductive Schooling ……81
Atakpa (1996) ……..……81
Ampiah (2004) ……..……82
Studies on Extended Education in the USA ……..83
National 21st Century Community Learning Centers Program ……83
Kentucky Extended School Services (ESS) Program ..……84
Resume of Theoretical and Empirical Frameworks.....85
The Concept of Extra Classes 86
Extra Classes in General ….……86
Correspondence of Extra Classes in the USA ……..……87
Extra Classes as Academic Remedy and Enrichment ……..……87
Child Welfare and Supervision ……87
Extra Classes in Ghana …….……88
Legal Extra Classes ……..…….……89
Remedial Classes ……89
Vacation Classes …..……90
Private Extra Classes ……90
Illegal Extra Classes …….……91
The Policy on Extra Classes 92
Public Outcry about Extra Classes ……92

Policy Statement ……93
Ministry of Education-GES (1995a) ……93
Ministry of Education-GES (1995b) ……94
Ministry of Education-GES (1995c) ……95
Press Statement: Explanation of Purport ……97
The Process of Policy Formulation and Implementation……99
Problem Definition ……99
Agenda Setting ……99
Analogous Agenda Setting ……100
Policy Implementation ……100
Obstacles to policy implementation ……101
Precursors of the Extra Classes Policy……103
The Accelerated Education Development Plan of 1951 ……103
The Education Act of 1961 ……105
The Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) Programme ……106
The 1987 Education Reform ……107
Assessment of the 1987 Education Reform ……109
The 1987 Reform's Contribution to Education Stratification ……111
Summary……112

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY……114
Introduction……114
Research Focus: Problem, Purpose, and Frameworks……115
Research Questions……116
Methodology……116
Research Design ……118
Interviews ……119
Participants ……120
Analysis of Policy Texts ……121
Policy Texts ……122
Ministry of Education-GES (1995a) ……122
Ministry of Education-GES (1995b) ……122
Ministry of Education-GES (1995c) ……123
Quianoo (1995) ……123
Role of the Media ……124
Importance of Language ……124
Dimensions of Policy Analysis ……125
Normative Dimension ……125
Structural Dimension ……125
Technical Dimension ……126
Constituentive Dimension ……126
Data Collection and Analysis ……127
Data Collection Protocol ……127
Data Analysis Procedures ……128

Positionality of the Researcher ……128
Ethical Considerations ……130
Validity and Reliability ……131
Validity ……131
Reliability ……131
Conclusion ……132

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH FINDINGS 133
Introduction.....133
Data Sources 133
Interviews ……134
Archival Data: Policy and Other Documents ……134
Media Reports ……134
Review of Methodology 135
Interpretive Policy Analysis ……135
Four-Dimensional Analytical Framework ……136
Presentation of Research Findings ……136
Normative Dimension ……138
Delineation of the Policy ……138
Major Points ……138
Minor Points ……140
Summary ……141
Remote Factors in Development of the Policy ……142
Major Points ……143
Minor Points ……144
Summary ……146
Proximate Factors in Development of the Policy ……147
Major Points ……148
Minor Points ……149
Summary ……149
Problems Addressed by the Policy ……150
Major Points ……151
Minor Points ……152
Summary ……153
Education Values Targeted by the Policy ……154
Major Points ……154
Minor Points ……155
Summary ……155
Extent of the Practice of Extra Classes ……157
Major Points ……157
Minor Points ……158
Summary ……159
Structural Dimension: Ministry of Education-GES Structure and Procedures ……160
Major Points ……161

Minor Points ……..…..……162
Summary ……..……163
Technical Dimension: Logistical Preparedness ……..164
Major Points ……164
Minor Points …...…….……165
Summary ……..167
Constituentive Dimension: Impact of the Policy ……168
General Impact: Gainers and losers ……168
Summary ……..……169
Impact on Northern Ghana ……..……170
Socio-economic Factors …..……170
Political Factors ….……..……171
Education Factors ……...……172
Stratifications ……..……173
Summary ……..174
Conclusion 176

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS 178
Introduction.....178
Discussion of Main Findings 179
Development of the Policy: Normative Dimension.....179
Factors in the Development of the Policy ……...……179
Main Problems Addressed by the Policy ……180
Commercialization of Education ..……..180
Injustice and Inequity …..……182
Disorder and Indiscipline ……..……..184
"Blackmail" ……..185
Main Education Values Targeted by the Policy ……..……186
Accountability ……...……..187
Education Equity and Fairness …...……188
Discipline and Orderliness ……..……188
Student Achievement ……..189
Holistic Education ……...190
Contribution of the 1987 Education Reform ……..…191
Structural Dimension 195
Technical Dimension 197
Impact of the Policy: Constituentive Dimension.....198
General Impact: Gainers and Losers.....199
Impact on Northern Ghana.....200
Impact of the Practice of Extra Classes ……..200
Education Factors ……201
Socio-politico-economic Factors ……201
Stratifications ……..202
Impact of the Policy Banning Extra Classes ……...203

Intended Consequences: Expert and Policymaker Perspectives ……203
Equal Education Opportunity ……204
Enhanced Education Output ……204
Unintended Consequences: Real Repercussions of the Policy on…….
Northern Ghana ……205
Partial or Non-Implementation of the Policy ……206
Unaddressed Stratifying Causes ……209
Lost Altruism ……211
Aggravated Practice of Extra Classes ……211
The Heart of the Policy: A Matter of Accountability ……212
Accountability Requirements in Ghana ……212
GES Council and GNAT Accountability Regulations ……213
School Accountability ……213
Teacher Accountability ……214
Student Accountability ……217
Recommendations ……218
Braving the Culture of Non-enforcement of Policies ……219
Addressing the Enhancers of Extra Classes ……220
The Perspective of Illegal Extra Classes ……220
State of Ghana Schools ……221
Inadequacy of Instructional Time ……221
Role of the 1987 Reform ……222
Toward Holistic Education ……223
Improving Teacher Training, Professionalism, and Remuneration ……225
Bridging the North-South Education Gap ……228
Dealing with Stratifying Factors ……229
Equity, Adequacy, Access, and Participation ……230
Improving Time Management in Northern Ghana ……232
Concluding Observations ……233
Extra Classes: An Unresolved Issue in Ghana ……234
Discrepant Response to the Policy on Extra Classes ……235
Future of Illegal Extra Classes ……237
Policy Evaluation, Revision, and Reenactment ……238
Significance of the Study ……241
Follow-up Actions and Suggestions for Future Research ……243
Conclusion ……244

APPENDICES ……246
Appendix A: Informed Consent Form ……246
Appendix B: Interview Protocol ……247
Appendix C: Assessment of Accountability in USA/California…….
Education Law ……248

REFERENCES ……253

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Correspondence of Interview Questions to Research Questions ……...…….120

Table 2: Data Collection Matrix …….127

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Map of Ghana, Showing Regional Demarcations ……..4

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BECE	Basic Education Certificate Examinations
CAHSEE	California High School Exit Examination
CHASS	Conference of Heads of Assisted Secondary Schools
CRT	Criterion Referenced Test
CSSPS	Computerised School Selection and Placement System
ERRC	Education Reform Review Committee
ESS	Extended School Services
FCUBE	Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education
GES	Ghana Education Service
GNAT	Ghana National Association of Teachers
JHS	Junior High School
JSS	Junior Secondary School
NCLB	No Child Left Behind
PTAs	Parent Teachers Associations
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programs
SHS	Senior High School
SHSCE	Senior High School Certificate Examinations
SSS	Senior Secondary School
SSSCE	Senior Secondary School Certificate Examinations
STAR	Standardized Testing and Reporting
TLMs	Teaching and Learning Materials
WASSCE	West African Senior School Certificate Examinations

ABSTRACT

Education Policy on Extra Classes:

Implications for Secondary Education in Northern Ghana

By

Camillo Abatanie Bonsuuri

In 1995, Ghana's education policymakers imposed a ban on all extra classes initiated and organized on school premises and public buildings, by individual teachers or groups of teachers, for which students were charged extra fees. The ban is referred to as the "policy on extra classes." This study examined the genesis and justification of the said policy, including the current phenomenon of extra classes in Ghana. The study analyzed the policy's impact on secondary education in the country, particularly Northern Ghana, using the lens of education stratification in a qualitative interpretive policy analysis approach. Interviews of leading Ghana education officials conducted in 2010 were the predominant source of data in this research, with corroboration from analysis of policy texts and review of the media.

The conclusions and recommendations that emerged from this study included: accountability, the responsible use of school time and instructional time, and education equity and adequacy. Other issues concerned social justice, teacher remuneration and motivation, and the need for equitable national education policies that reckon with the

disparities in the country. In particular, this study took issue with the culture of non-implementation of education policies in Ghana, with particular reference to the policy on extra classes. The study contended that the partial or non-implementation of education policies deepens education stratification in the country.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Introduction

This introductory chapter presents the background, purpose, significance, and the main issues this research set out to investigate. It presents the research problem and broaches the theoretical and empirical frameworks for addressing the issues. The research context is set by a rudimentary introduction to Ghana, where the research was based. In particular, the education system is highlighted. On the backdrop of a checkered political history, Ghana's education experience has not been without vicissitude. This has impacted her education heritage, and explains some of the imbalances and uncertainties in the system.

Problem Statement

In 1995, the Ghana Government of the day, through its Ministry of Education and the Ghana Education Service (GES), banned the practice of a certain type of extra class in the whole country. The banned extra classes were those initiated and organized on school premises and public buildings, by individual teachers or groups of teachers outside the normal school day, for which students were charged set fees per subject. The ban made that type of extra class illegal and outlawed, and is referred to as the "policy on extra classes." This policy on extra classes is the subject of this study. Extra classes not covered by the ban are deemed legal and permissible. The distinction between legal and illegal extra classes is treated in greater detail in Chapter Two. In spite of the ban,

however, both legal and illegal extra classes are quite widespread in Ghana's education system.

Explaining reasons for the ban, the then Minister for Education cited, among other things, the shifting of teaching during regular school time to private classes. He also decried the exorbitant fees charged for these classes which make them the preserve of students and parents who could afford them (Quianoo, 1995). This is the crux of the problem addressed by the study. The study examined the genesis of the policy on extra classes, and the veracity of the allegations adduced for the ban. It then scrutinized the effects of this ban on secondary education in general in the country and in Northern Ghana in particular. The socioeconomic and education stratifications between Northern Ghana and the rest of the country were of great significance, in considering the ramifications of the policy. The following short introduction to the country set the context for the study.

Basic Facts about Ghana

Ghana (formerly named "Gold Coast"), is an Anglophone republic in the West Africa sub-region, bounded by three Francophone countries, Côte d'Ivoire (to the west), Burkina Faso (to the North), and Togo (to the east). To the South of the country lies the Gulf of Guinea. Ghana extends over about 238,306 sq km, (92,100 sq. miles). Hence it is about the size of the State of Oregon, in the USA. Ghana stretches from longitude 3.11 west to longitude 1.11 east, and from latitudes 4 to 11.5 North (Amamoo, 2007). The capital city, Accra, lies on the Greenwich meridian (zero longitude). The 2010 census

established the population of Ghana at 24,223,431.[1] Figure 1 shows present-day Ghana demarcated in ten administrative regions.

The coastal area of Ghana had a fair amount of interaction with Europe, even before the so-called "scramble for Africa." The Portuguese were the first Europeans to arrive in the area, in the fifteenth century (1481), to be followed by the Dutch in the sixteenth century (1598). Other Europeans like the Danes and the Swedes pitched their tents on the coast, in the seventeenth century.

Each group built its own forts or castles, both for accommodation and for protection. These European groups made efforts to get rid of one another militarily and by negotiation, so as to gain sole control of the area. Eventually the British had the upper hand, setting up a crown colony there in 1874, consisting of mainly the southern belt of present-day Ghana. Between 1896 and 1900, the British colonialists occupied and annexed Ashanti and Northern Ghana, making them part of the British crown colony of the Gold Coast.

In 1957, this crown colony became the first African country to gain sovereignty from the British, and assumed the name Ghana. Ghana's first President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, who had studied at the Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, projected "principles of freedom and justice, equity and free education for all, irrespective of ethnic background, religion or creed" (Wikipedia—Ghana, 2008). Since independence, the country has made determined efforts to put her education system on a sound footing, well

[1] This is according to provisional results announced by Government Statistician, Dr. Grace Bediako, February 3, 2011. Retrieved from http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=202483.

aware that a good combination of quality education and good economic policies is a healthy recipe for development and poverty alleviation. Unfortunately, this dream appeared to be elusive, at least for some parts of the country.

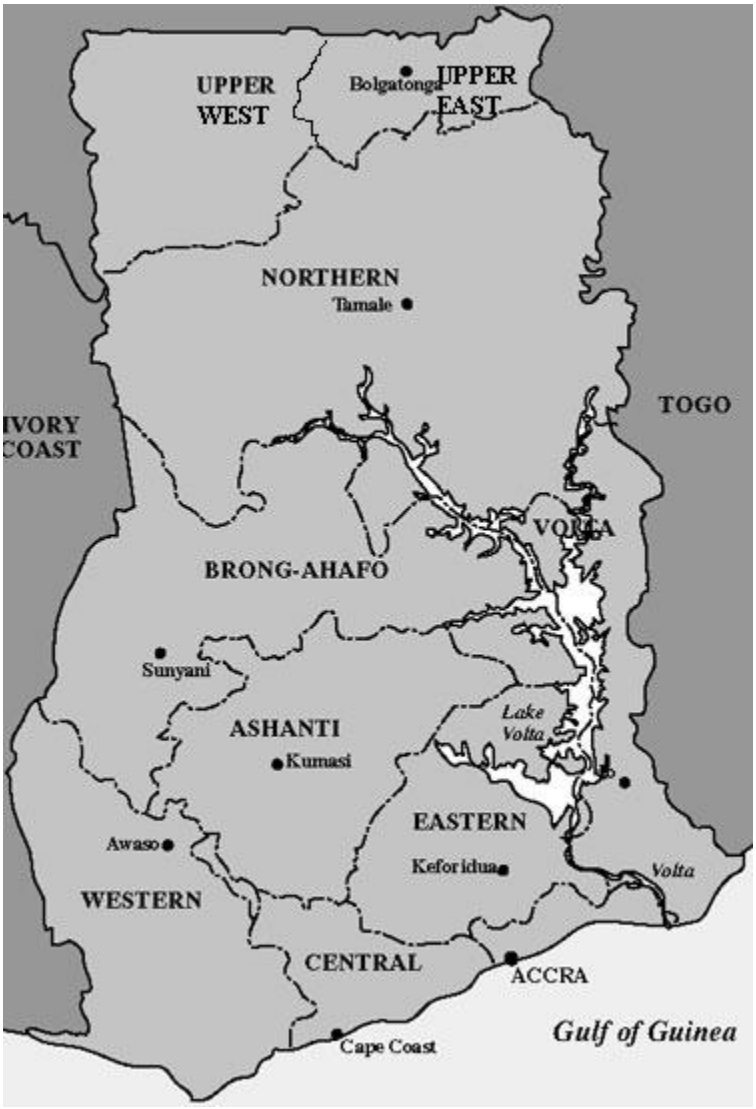

Figure 1. Map of Ghana, showing regional demarcations.
Source: Ministry of Information and National Orientation (2007).
http://www.ghana.gov.gh/ghana_map

Education in Ghana

The challenge of delivering welfare and quality education to citizens faces all nations of the world. In Ghana this challenge has been viewed by Government in terms of developing an education system that is "more responsive to national goals and aspirations as well as global demands" with the view of "reducing the high level of poverty in the society as well as becoming competitive in today's knowledge driven globalized economy" (Government of Ghana, 2007b, no. 8). This position manifests awareness of the impact of globalization on education and national endeavors. Globalization views knowledge as a fundamental catalyst, hence its interest in education or the transmission of knowledge (Stromquist, 2000). In an era when global competitiveness is the ruling principle of human endeavor (Stromquist, 2000), no nation can afford to remain complacent in simply turning out high school graduates whose sole credential is that they were able to memorize some syllabus material, and to regurgitate it in response to questions in their final exams.

The following review of the structure of Ghana's education, albeit cursory, is meant to create a context for the discussion of the impact of the extra classes policy on secondary education. Education in Ghana is controlled, regulated, and monitored by the Government of Ghana, through the Ministry of Education. Most of the schools in Ghana are public schools, and are under the control of the Ghana Education Service.

There are also unit schools, and private and semi-private schools. Unit schools are schools started and managed by education units. An education unit is defined in the 1961 Education Act as "a corporation, a body or religious society which has the management

of one or more public institutions and is recognised by the Minister [of Education]" (Government of Ghana, 1961, Section 32). Unit schools are regarded as private or semi-private. There are also private schools founded by education entrepreneurs. Successive governments, since independence, have led the education effort directed at helping Ghanaians attain their education aspirations (Government of Ghana, 2007a).

General Outline of the Ghana Education System

The education structure is presented here in broad outlines, to be followed by a more detailed elaboration of the secondary education component. All pre-tertiary education in Ghana is managed by the Ghana Education Service. With the introduction of the 1987 and 2007 education reforms, which are discussed in greater detail later, pre-tertiary education now includes kindergarten (2 years), primary school (6 years), junior high school (3 years), and senior high school (3 years). Established in 1974, as part of the civil service, the Ghana Education Service "is charged with the responsibility of implementing pre-tertiary education policies of government. This is to ensure that all Ghanaian children of school-going age are provided with quality formal education and training through effective and efficient resource" (Information Services Department, 2008, p. 524).

Tertiary education is under the management of the National Council for Tertiary Education (NCTE). This council was set up by the 1992 Constitution, to replace the National Council for Higher Education (NCHE), which had been established in 1962. Tertiary institutions offer senior high school graduates the opportunity to take their education and training to a higher level. They include universities and university colleges,

colleges, tutorial colleges, polytechnics, institutes,[2] and academies (Information Services Department, 2008). A National Coordinating Committee for Technical and Vocational Education and Training (NACVET) coordinates this aspect of Ghana's education and formation, under the GES (Information Services Department, 2008).

Secondary education. Secondary education is the level of education between elementary or basic education and tertiary education. In Ghana, there seems to be disagreement about whether the Junior High School (JHS) is the starting point of secondary education. This is because the JHS is regarded both as a terminal point and also a springboard for further education. This disagreement emerged at the national forum held to discuss the duration of the senior high school. At that forum, some participants considered all education up to, and including the JHS as part of basic level. Those participants argued for the extension of the duration of the Senior High School (SHS) from three years to four years. Participants who thought three years were enough for the SHS argued that the JHS belonged with the SHS. According to this view, secondary school begins after primary six, and goes on for six years (three years of JHS, and three years of SHS), making it unnecessary to extend the duration of the SHS. For the purpose of this study, secondary education is intended to mean the Senior High School.

Senior high school schedule. The academic calendar provides for three school terms: First term (September—December); second term (January—April); and third term (May—August) (Information Services Department, 2008). Regular instructional time or normal class time in Ghana's senior high schools runs from 7:00 a.m. until 2:00 p.m., or

[2] The Ghana Institute of Languages, set up in 1961, primarily to promote Pan-Africanism, is one such tertiary institute.

2:30 p.m., as may be established in the school timetable. This is followed by lunch, bringing the first part of the school day to a close. The program in the second part of the school day is more varied, from school to school. After lunch, students in some schools, especially the unit and private schools, observe a period of rest or siesta, for about one hour. Students then do manual work or play games. This is followed by shower, dinner, (prayers or spiritual exercises), and private study time or preparation ("preps") for the next day's classes.

This orderly program, however, seems to be an ideal often shattered by interferences, including extra classes. The practice of extra classes is not limited to any particular type of school in Ghana, but cuts across the board. It is during the second part of the day that extra classes usually take place. After the normal school day, immediately after lunch, or later in the evening, students regroup with one or the other teacher, to receive extra lessons. All scoring subjects tested in the graduating exams by the West African Examinations Council (WAEC) are open to extra classes.[3] The WAEC exams are important for the understanding of the phenomenon of extra classes in Ghana.

WAEC senior high school examinations. The West African Examinations Council (WAEC) is a regional examining body, set up in 1952, which examines candidates so as to "harmonize and standardize pre-university assessment in the then

[3] The Senior High School curriculum is presented as follows: "At the Senior High School (SHS), the core subjects shall be English, Mathematics, Integrated Science, Social Studies and ICT. In addition to the Core Subjects at the SHS, every school candidate must offer ONE of the following course programmes: Agriculture, Business, Technical, Vocational (Home Economics or Visual Arts), or General (Arts or Science). For the Technical/ Vocational/Agriculture Education stream of SHS, the following broad elective areas shall be offered: Building Trades, Business Studies, Electrical Engineering, Hospitality Trades, Mechanical Engineering and Agriculture" (Government of Ghana, 2007a).

British West Africa" (Information Services Department, 2008, p. 528). Countries served by WAEC are Nigeria, Sierra Leone, The Gambia, Liberia, and Ghana. Headquartered in Accra, the Council has "supporting offices in London as well as in each of the five member countries" (Information Services Department, 2008, p. 529).

The annual calendar of the senior high school (SHS) targets forty weeks, spread over three terms. Most of the teachers of academic subjects at this level are university graduates. At the end of the third year of SHS, students take the SHS Certificate Examinations (SHSCE), organized by the West African Examinations Council. The SHSCE results are graded on a descending scale of A through F, with A to E as passing grades. Each student's general performance is calculated as an aggregate of grades obtained in the individual subjects. One point is assigned to each grade of A, two points for each B, and so on down to six points for an F. The points allotted to the three elective subjects, plus the points for the three core subjects (Core English, Core Math, and Core Science) are added to calculate the aggregate. Thus a straight A student would earn the best possible aggregate of 6, while a student who failed all six subjects would score aggregate 36.

An aggregate of 24, a D average, or better, is regarded to be a success, equivalent to an American high school graduation. Students who score higher than aggregate 24 often retake some or all of the exams the next year, with the hope of improving their performance. Students need good grades in the SHSCE for admission to the university, regarded as the ultimate measure of academic success. Students who do not attain a place

in any of the universities may find their way into non-degree awarding programs, such as polytechnics, teacher training colleges, and nurses training colleges.

Impact of WAEC senior high school certificate examinations. The SHSCE (formerly SSSCE) mark the conclusion of secondary education and determine the fate of SHS graduates. The certificate awarded from these exams is the paper qualification that testifies to their suitability for employment, or admission to higher studies (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, 2004). This certificate symbolizes student achievement par excellence, at this level of education. It is understandable, therefore, that students do all in their power to secure a good certificate, with the help of parents, teachers, and other stakeholders.

Stringent grading in the SHSCE often produces extensive failures. This disheartens students and often provokes angry charges directed toward both the Ministry of Education and WAEC. WAEC, however, maintains an uncompromising stand on its grading practices, citing the need to foster and maintain an internationally recognized status for the SHSCE.

Prospects for secondary school graduates. Education objectives often target the holistic formation of students. The committee set up to review education reforms in Ghana (Anamuah-Mensah, 2002) gives indication of this when it presents the broad objectives of primary education:

1. Consolidate knowledge and skills acquired at the kindergarten level.
2. Lay foundation for inquiry, creativity and innovation.
3. Develop an understanding of how to lead a healthy life and achieve a good health status.
4. Develop sound moral attitudes and appreciate one's cultural heritage and identity.

5. Inculcate good citizenship in children to enable them to participate in national development.
6. Prepare pupils for further education and training.
7. Make pupils understand the environment and the need to contribute to its sustainability. (p. 27)

It would be instructive to consider how far these objectives were mastered and carried forward to the senior high school. High school graduates are also expected to manifest appreciable skills in literacy, numeracy, and problem solving. Furthermore, they need to show that their high school education has really improved their capacity for moving forward in life, either to study further or to acquire a job (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, 2004). This is the main thrust of preparing the youth for the demands of the twenty-first century global competition in higher education and the job market. No education system can afford to fail in this. If SHS students sense that the education they are receiving would not prepare them adequately to meet these global expectations, they are likely to despair, and this may affect their performance (Adjei, 2003). Some may even drop out of school altogether. In particular, if the quality of education they are receiving creates the perception of a bleak future in regard to further study and employment, they would have no incentive to exert themselves, or even continue, in school.

It is for these reasons that there is intense pressure on schools, teachers, and students for success at the high school level. This also explains to some extent, the widespread practice of extra classes in Ghana. The overwhelming goal is to score high on the graduation examinations organized by the West African Examinations Council (WAEC). Unwittingly, the focus of schooling seems to have been narrowed down to preparing students to pass examinations. Students who do well in these examinations

move on; those who do not are stuck (Editorial, 2008; Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, 2004). Performance in the SHSCE is also linked to the image and reputation of the school. Hence, holistic education quality is often sacrificed for high performance in these examinations. In effect, school accountability entails little more than giving students techniques of rote learning and regurgitating subject matter in response to examination questions.

Performance in the SHSCE also determines admission to the university and other tertiary programs. It is in this respect that education stratification in Ghana is most brazenly manifest. It is at this stage that the rural populations have most reason to lament their plight. The rural areas are home to the vast majority of the country's poor. The country's poor are not able to send their children to the better endowed schools in the country. This is because education cost is prohibitive in these schools. However, these are the schools whose students dominate performance in the SHSCE and gain access to the universities. Professor Stephen Adei's data on this situation, presented by Oti-Agyen, Archer, and Asiamah (2005), was illustrative:

> According to him [Professor Adei], data from the leading public universities show that in 1999/2000, 2 out of 3 students admitted into the University of Ghana, Legon, and 3 out of 4 into the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST), (the two oldest universities), were drawn from 50 out of the 500 public secondary schools in the country, and two-thirds of the matriculates were resident in three of [the] ten regions in the country. Perhaps more starkly, the big schools (4 percent of the total) provided 40 to 45 percent respectively, of admission into the two universities. (p. 181)

From these analyses, Professor Adei concluded, rightly, that, unlike in the past when education enhanced social mobility, in present day Ghana, it is now an agent of social stratification (Oti-Agyen et al., 2005). Over half a century after independence,

serious education stratifications remain, and are growing, in the country, especially between the North and the South. This is the context of the present research.

Context for the Study

This study focused on the northern part of Ghana, insofar as it differs from the South socially, economically, and especially education. Northern Ghana faces formidable education, social, and economic challenges. The three regions of Northern Ghana (Northern, Upper East, and Upper West) are the poorest in the country. This part of the country is made up of shrubs and savannah grasslands, usually characterized by dry semi-desert conditions, especially in the extreme North (Amamoo, 2007). This situation of penury impacts education delivery. Correlations between poverty and education delivery and student achievement, are well established in studies (Atakpa, 1996; Foster & Zormelo, 2002; Kyei, 2000; Meehan, Cowley, Chadwick, Schumacher, & Hauser, 2004; Pryor, 2005; Pryor & Ampiah, 2004; Ray, 2001). However, in the case of Northern Ghana, poverty has not been the only reason for low levels of education achievement, and for the north-south disparity. Other factors will be examined in greater detail in Chapter Two.

Purpose and Significance of the Study

The purpose of this study was to gain a comprehensive understanding of the concept and practice of extra classes in Ghana, including the factors that engendered the practice. The phenomenon of extra classes, particularly in its approved and positive form, has been variously explored in education studies. This study focused on the practice of extra classes made illegal in Ghana by the policy under investigation. In particular, this

study scrutinized the context and the precursory and causal factors of the policy. Furthermore, the study explored the implications of the policy for secondary education in Ghana, and especially in the northern part of the country.

This study is significant and relevant because it treats an issue that is current and pertinent to the Ghana education system, and elsewhere. Publications in newspapers and education journals all over the world, including Ghana, bear witness to the phenomenon of extra classes, and its effects, both positive and negative. The practice of extra classes impacts gravely on the future of students, for good or bad. While the positive effects of extra classes are often touted, this usually relates to the regulated and well-managed practice of extra classes. Unregulated extra classes which are prevalent in Ghana, are deemed to have less than desirable effects on education delivery. There is little wonder that the Ministry of Education took the bold step of banning these extra classes (Quianoo, 1995). This study, which focused on the banning policy, therefore addresses a topical education issue. In the final analysis, it is about education delivery in Ghana. The subject of extra classes proves to be controversial and complicated, at least in the Ghana experience. Any research that helps toward a clearer understanding of the issues surrounding it would be beneficial to Ghana's education effort. It is hoped that this study provides useful support to the Ministry of Education, GES, teachers, and other educators and stakeholders, in their effort to provide quality education to Ghanaian children.

Research Questions

The study investigated the following research questions:

1. What factors contributed to the development of Ghana's Ministry of Education-GES policy on the ban on extra classes in Ghana's schools?
2. What are expert and policy maker perceptions on the impact of the policy on extra classes on secondary education, especially in Northern Ghana?

To answer these research questions, the following research design, methodology, and frameworks were employed.

Research Design and Methodology

The methodology used in this study adopted the qualitative method of inquiry and employed interviews of policymakers and policy implementers, analysis of policy texts, and review of the media. This approach combined aspects of Yanow's (1996; 2000) interpretive policy analysis and Cooper, Fusarelli, and Randall's (2004) four-dimensional approach to policy analysis. The four dimensions proposed by Cooper et al. (2004) included the normative, structural, practical, and constituentive dimensions, and are explained in Chapter Two. They were applied in this study to supplement Yanow's method of interpretive policy analysis.

Interpretive policy analysis is distinct from the dispassionate traditional quantitative approach to policy analysis. It is inclusive of, and sensitive to, all the polities in the policy process. These polities are diverse, and bring to the policy process their different backgrounds and world views (Johnson, 2008; Yanow, 2000). Interpretive policy analysis scrutinizes both the policy intent, as captured in the policy texts and

explicated in interview of policymakers, and the divergent interpretations by different communities of meaning, together with the modes of communicating these meanings (Yanow, 2000). This study on Ghana's Ministry of Education-GES policy on extra classes created room for the telling of the story of marginalization as experienced by the weaker polities, as will be elaborated in chapter two, and in particular, the disadvantaged communities of Northern Ghana.

Theoretical and Empirical Frameworks

This study is founded on the theoretical and empirical frameworks of education stratification. Education stratification explores the phenomenon of inequity and inadequacy that exist in education systems. It makes use of empirical studies that investigate the occurrence of stratification, along with the causal factors. This study examined the various types of stratification in Ghana. Employing the empirical framework of education stratification, the study also drew empirical support from education studies conducted in Ghana. Two related studies in the USA were also reviewed. These studies addressed education stratification by means of extra classes or extended schooling.

Assumptions

This study is based on the following assumptions:

1. The participants selected for the study were knowledgeable in education policy formulation and/or implementation.
2. The participants who were interviewed answered questions honestly and professionally, without the biases of party politics, ethnic, or other parochial interests.

Limitations of the Study

The study reckons with the following limitations:

1. As one who hails from the northern part of Ghana, I have experienced first hand the inequities affecting this part of the country. While aiming at faithfulness to the data, my presentation could be so passionate as to create the impression of compromised objectivity. My passion for the issue of this study, and my perspectives on the policy under examination, are further expounded in Chapter Three, under my positionality as researcher.

2. The research was conducted in Ghana, while my university is in the USA, where I spent most of my time during the study program. This imposed major constraints in terms of cost and limitation on research time and scope.

3. In Ghana, few issues in the public domain are not politicized. A sensitive issue like the policy under discussion is bound to suffer from such polarization, with the high possibility that participants involved in the study portrayed political, in addition to, personal biases.

4. The study focused on Northern Ghana, with its history of marginalization. Findings may, however, be generalizable to other parts of the country that labor under similar conditions.

5. Finally, this study was not intended to right whatever anomalies it uncovered. This is one of the limitations of policy research, and not just this study. Education policies or decisions, and practices are influenced by many factors other than policy research (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006).

Delimitations of the Study

The following delimitations guided the study:

1. This study did not attempt a scrutiny of all the country's education policies and initiatives. The focus was on one particular policy, even if others were brought in to shed light.

2. The study was specific to a particular part of the country. Effects of the education policy on extra classes on other parts of the country were limited to broad outlines.

3. Due to time and logistic constraints, a longitudinal study was not possible, even if desirable.

Definition of Terms

Before defining the key terms that were featured in this study, I wish to explain the central concept, namely, "extra classes." The term "extra classes" is not coterminous with "extra-classroom teaching," and so should be distinguished from it. Extra-classroom teaching refers to a wide range of teaching and learning engagements that occur outside or/and beyond the scope of the regular classroom. It includes, but is not limited to, bringing mentors, tutors, and other knowledgeable people into the classroom to teach students and to experiment with extra or new pedagogy or teaching material. On the other hand, extra classes are based on the regular syllabus or curriculum, and refer to that supplementary or extra teaching which takes place outside the official contact hours.

Operational Definition of Extra Classes

The notion of extra classes does not include extracurricular activities like sports, field trips, student clubs, and student movement activities. Nor does it include time spent

on homework, academic assignments, or private study. The Ghana Ministry of Education-GES policy on extra classes specified, in three circulars (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995a; Ministry of Education-GES, 1995b; Ministry of Education-GES, 1995c), and one special news conference (Quianoo, 1995), the kind of extra teaching outlawed. This is examined in greater detail in Chapter Two.

The following terms are used in this study with the specific meanings intended by this researcher, as follows:

Extra classes: Instructional activity organized outside regular or official contact hours.

Legal extra classes: Extra classes run with the approval or sanction of lawful school or education authority. They include remedial and vacation classes.

Illegal extra classes: Extra classes that go ahead against the express regulation of 1995, and without permission or approval of lawful school or education authority.

Policy on extra classes: This refers to the 1995 ban placed on the practice of certain extra classes by Ghana's Ministry of Education and the Ghana Education Service.

Extra-classroom teaching: A broad range of teaching and learning contexts occurring beyond the scope of the regular classroom setting and curriculum, and may involve leaders other than teachers.

Extended school day: Time added to the regular contact hours of the school day, for purposes of expanded instructional activity.

Education stratification: Imbalances or inequities in education delivery caused by other inequities in human society.

Instructional time: Temporal space allotted to the pursuit of an approved education activity, such as a course or curriculum, under a teacher's guidance.

Organization of the Study

This study of Ghana's 1995 education policy on extra classes is divided into five chapters. After this introductory chapter, the next chapter reviews literature relevant and pertinent to this study. This review gives support to the theoretical and empirical frameworks of the study, and guides the interpretation of the policy. The third chapter outlines the methodology for data collection. In Chapter Four, the data generated from the research is presented. The last chapter covers the analysis and discussion of the main findings and a summary of the study. It also puts forward some conclusions, implications, and recommendations.

Summary

The phenomenon of extra classes is not hidden in Ghana's education system. The practice acquired such proportions as to alarm the Ministry of Education-GES into action. Concerns that extra classes were seriously jeopardizing regular classes and orderly education delivery resulted in the policy banning extra classes (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995a; Ministry of Education/ GES, 1995b; Ministry of Education-GES, 1995c; Quianoo, 1995). The first policy statement banned all extra classes, declaring that "with immediate effect no extra classes should be organised in any public schools or public buildings including staff bungalows" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995a). However, a second statement made allowance for "remedial classes" and "vacation classes" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995b, p. 2).

This modification notwithstanding, the policy remains controversial and continues to meet with various responses by education stakeholders. Stakeholders and interest groups have reacted to the policy on the basis of how they perceive the policy as affecting their education and parochial interests (Atagra, 2009a; Atagra, 2009b). This study was specifically interested in the impact the policy might be having on delivery of secondary education, especially in the northern part of the country. As will be illustrated in the next chapter, there are marked socioeconomic and education disparities between the north and south of Ghana. In such a situation the implementation of the policy is bound to be uneven, and its impact diverse.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This literature review lays the framework for analyzing the Ghana Ministry of Education-GES policy on extra classes. The literature is reviewed through the theoretical lens of education stratification. In preparation for understanding the policy on extra classes, this review covers a synopsis of recent literature and studies on extra classes or extended schooling, and the management of school time to achieve higher education goals. Education literature abounds on extra classes and school time management, but this review will focus on literature and education studies on Ghana, with a few relating to the USA. The policy on extra classes is one nation's struggle to respond adequately to the education demands of globalization. It is the Ghana Ministry of Education-GES's effort to deliver education in an equitable manner (Editorial, 2008; GNA, 2009d; Quianoo, 1995).

Research Focus: Purpose, Significance, Questions, and Methodology

This study sought a comprehensive understanding of the concept and practice of extra classes, especially in Ghana, including the factors that engender the practice. In a particular way, the study focused on the Ghana Ministry of Education-GES education policy banning extra classes. It explored ways in which this education policy impacts secondary education in Ghana, especially in the northern part of the country.

This study is significant because the issue of extra classes, which it addressed, has proven to be a topical one, both before and after extra classes were banned in 1995

(Editorial, 2008). The banning policy has, however, kept the subject at the center of national education discourse up to this day. This issue seems to strike at the core of the way Ghana is striving to meet the challenge of educating her young in schools. It also appears to be the linchpin among other pertinent issues of quality education delivery, namely: accountability, the proper use of instructional time, equity and adequacy, access and participation, and social justice. This study is also significant because it shares in the purport and effort of the Ministry of Education-GES, teachers, and other education leaders and stakeholders to provide quality education to Ghanaian children.

The methodology used in this study adopted the qualitative method of inquiry and employed interviews of policymakers and policy implementers, analysis of policy texts, and review of the media. This approach combines aspects of Yanow's (1996; 2000) interpretive policy analysis and Cooper, Fusarelli, & Randall's (2004) four-dimensional approach to policy analysis. This method of inquiry was well suited for addressing the research questions, namely:

1. What factors contributed to the development of Ghana's Ministry of Education-GES policy on the ban on extra classes in Ghana's schools?
2. What are expert and policy maker perceptions on the impact of this policy on secondary education, especially in Northern Ghana?

Theoretical Lens: Education Stratification

This study was guided by the theoretical and empirical frameworks of education stratification. Education stratification explores the phenomenon of inequity and inadequacy that exist in education systems and delivery. With growing efforts by the

United Nations, World Bank, and other international organizations to bring education to all people, as part of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs),[4] there is increasing research on education stratification. Studies, especially in developing countries, reveal significant obstacles to education access, participation, and equity, which give rise to education stratification. Poverty is one of these obstacles, and therefore a major cause of education stratification, as Strike well observed:

> If school opportunities are equal, then the results of schooling should be affected primarily by such characteristics as ability or willingness to learn. But if poverty, let us say, affects the student's ability or willingness to learn, then equal schooling will result in unequal achievement. Poor students will do less well than their affluent peers because they are less capable of profiting from the opportunity. The result of equal opportunity is that those who enter school behind will leave it behind. (as cited in Cooper et al., 2004, p. 46)

In Ghana, education stratification is caused by poverty and other forms of inequity, historical legacy, as well as some macro-structural factors. These will be examined in detail in this chapter.

The world-wide effort to expand and improve education is driven by the presumption that education has proven benefits for humanity. Unfortunately, stratification or inequity continues to bedevil education delivery, making certain individuals and whole communities unable to compete fairly with their more advantaged compatriots. Hence, education stratification is a distortion that detracts from the full benefits of education, as the following review of inequities indicates.

[4] There are eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), aimed at, among others, poverty, HIV/AIDS, and universal primary education, and the target date is 2015.

Main Inequities Impacting Education Stratification in Ghana

Inequities occur in many spheres of human existence. They may be imposed by natural endowments or created by policy and other human machinations. In Ghana, the main inequities that contribute to education stratification include socioeconomic, gender, rural-urban, and north-south inequities. The phenomenon of education stratification may therefore be examined from the perspectives of these forms of stratification. Other factors that impact education stratification are "macro-structural elements, including state policies and global forces" (Buchmann & Hannum, 2001, p. 78), and these have been part of Ghana's experience as well. Socioeconomic disparity is treated separately, but it is actually all-pervasive in relation to the other disparities. Socioeconomic stratification engenders, and is reinforced by, spatial and gender inequities. To address education stratification, it is necessary to factor in all these other stratifications that have a bearing on education.

Socioeconomic Stratification

It is generally accepted that education enhances economic development, health, and political participation, while reducing gender and social inequities, even though recent studies have begun to question some aspects of this assumption (Hannum & Buchmann, 2003). A 2002 World Bank report indicated that "education is one of the most powerful instruments known for reducing poverty and inequality and for laying the basis for sustained economic growth…" (as cited in Hannum & Buchmann, 2003, p. 1). Going by these assumptions, it is safe to assert that distortions or stratifications in education detract from the full benefits of education. This is true especially for the

socioeconomic benefits. As Hannum and Buchmann (2003) observed, "much international research offers strong support for the notion that education is an important determinant of earnings" (p. 7).

In Ghana, socioeconomic stratification is one of the clearest manifestations of inequity. It is also a hallmark of the other disparities discussed below, especially in the north-south disparity (Bening, 1972; Dickson, 1968; GNA, 2009b; Naameh, 2003; Songsore, 1979, 1989; Tsikata & Seini, 2004; Zan & van Klinken, 2008). Researchers (Addae-Mensah, Djangmah, & Agbenyega, 1973; Bloom, 1980; Coleman et al., 1966; Nyarko-Sampson, 2004; Opare, 1999) have explored links between socioeconomic conditions and student academic performance, and therefore their possible impact on education stratification. In fact, it is well established in education literature (Atakpa, 1996; Buchmann & Hannum, 2001; Foster & Zormelo, 2002; Kozol, 2005; Kyei, 2000; Meehan et al. 2004; Pryor, 2005; Pryor & Ampiah, 2004; Ray, 2001) that poverty is a factor that impacts education delivery. For example, poverty is a feature in extracurricular programs. The study of Meehan et al. (2004), in the State of Kentucky, USA, established that "students attending ESS programs are characterized by coming from poorer areas (rural and inner city), which lack resources. These circumstances place students at risk of academic failure and dropping out of school" (p. 27).

Kozol's (2005) incisive review of education in America revealed that poor and minority students generally receive an impoverished version of education given to other students. In white segregated schools, better and more experienced teachers form the teaching staff. Parents make extra financial contributions to hire and keep these teachers,

and to supplement the school budget for other expenses. These factors combine to enhance education delivery especially in the way students are engaged during instructional time (Kozol, 2005).

Researchers Buchmann and Hannum (2001) noted that "some research finds that community factors such as concentration of poverty and the racial composition of neighborhoods are significantly related to unequal education outcomes…." and that "children develop within a set of embedded contexts and tap into the multifaceted nature of determinants of education inequality" (p. 94). The links between socioeconomic conditions and education stratification in Ghana are verified in the stratifications discussed next.

Gender Inequities

In both Northern and Southern Ghana, the colonial era witnessed a head start of men over women in both education and employment, and this comparative advantage has carried into the present era. This is reflected in different spheres of endeavor and power dynamics, particularly in the three arms of government (legislative, executive, and judicial), with women occupying many lower positions and few at the upper level (Tsikata & Seini, 2004).[5] In 2009, the Swiss-based World Economic Forum, which monitors and reports annually on world-wide gender imbalances "in the areas of economic participation and opportunity, education attainment, political empowerment, and health and survival," (Joy News, 2009, p. 1) placed Ghana in the 81st position in the world ranking, indicating a slip of four places from the 77th place.

[5] Drawing an illustration from the government of the day, Tsikata & Seini (2004) observed that, "out of 200 members of parliament, only 19 are women, and there is only one female cabinet minister" (p. 8).

This suggests that the blame for gender inequity in Ghana is not to be placed on colonial policy. Indeed, it was not colonial policy to discriminate against females. In fact the very first education ordinance of the colonial administration, the 1852 Education Ordinance,[6] showed sensitivity for gender balance by the appointment of one Mrs. Vinall to take charge of female education (Oti-Agyen et al., 2005).[7] Sir Gorden Guggisberg, who was governor of the Gold Coast (1919-1927), and who made important contributions to the education and development of the colony, set out sixteen principles to guide education in the colony. The fourth principle, cited in Oti-Agyen et al. (2005) reads: "Equal opportunities given to boys should be provided for the education of girls" (p. 65).

Gender imbalance happened also in spite of the fact that the missionary groups that worked to develop education in the colony showed similar sensitivity. Oti-Agyen et al. (2005) reported, for example, that the Wesleyan (Methodist) missionaries attached importance to female education because "John Wesley, the founder of the Wesleyan mission believed that boys and girls should be given an equal opportunity to education" (p. 36). Similarly, in reference to Catholic missionaries, Oti-Agyen et al. (2005) indicated that "female education also constituted an important component of their education enterprise" (p. 43).

In independent Ghana, efforts were also made to promote female education, albeit belatedly. In a bid to reduce gender disparity in education, the Ministry of Education set

[6] Oti-Agyen et al. (2005) remarked that "the education activities of the colonial government were restricted to the passing of ordinances to regulate education practice in the country" (p. 55), and that they passed three such ordinances, namely, "the 1852 Education Ordinance, the 1882 Education Ordinance, and the 1887 Education Ordinance" (p. 55).

[7] Mr. and Mrs. Vinall were a European couple given assignment by the 1852 Education Ordinance to open and run a school, and to train teachers, as part of the colonial education effort.

up the Girls' Education Unit (GEU) in 1997. The Unit was later placed under the FCUBE program. This was meant to reduce and eventually eliminate gender-related education stratification by giving special attention to access and participation of girls, as required by the Constitution of Ghana and the FCUBE program (Oti-Agyen et al., 2005). Within the Ghana Education Service the Women in Technical Education (WTED) Unit was set up to encourage female participation in technical and vocational education (Oti-Agyen et al., 2005). To enable more females to train as teachers, the Access Course for Girls was introduced to help prepare girls lacking the requirements for admission to teacher training institutions to obtain the requirements (Oti-Agyen et al., 2005). For their part, the universities have made conscious efforts to attain gender parity in university education by enforcing incremental annual admission quotas for females (Oti-Agyen et al., 2005).

These positive attitudes and efforts notwithstanding, obstacles from the locals themselves hampered female education. Many families preferred to keep their girls at home to help with household chores rather than send them to school. Others focused on the dowry or bride-price and would not release their daughters to attend school which would delay this source of income. Hence, in spite of incentives provided by the missionaries to entice and keep girls in school, female enrollment continued to trail male enrollment. In Ghana, as elsewhere, gender stratification has had strong links with education stratification in the sense that "different social classes and groups such as women enjoy different levels of education attainment and access to education services, major determinants of social mobility" (Tsikata & Seini, 2004, p. 8). Even in the mission schools, enrollment of girls always lagged behind that of boys (Oti-Agyen et al., 2005).

Male-female disparity in education attainment has been explored by studies in different places. A UNICEF-sponsored study based on Northern Ghana, under the auspices of the Ministry of Education of Ghana, by Atakpa (1996) was one such study. This study attested to dismal levels of girl-child enrollment and retention in Northern Ghana, as compared to the rest of the country, and also, in the Northern Region, as compared to the other two regions of Northern Ghana. A 2007 study conducted by World University Service of Canada (WUSC) and the Integrated Social Development Centre (ISODEC) found "Ignorance, poverty, cultural priorities, early marriages, lack of educated female role models…as some of the socio-cultural barriers to girls' education in the northern parts of the country" (GNA, 2007, p. 1). This low participation of girls in education has affected the general success rate of northern girls in school (Atakpa, 1996). The resultant poor education of mothers-to-be, in turn, translates into a multiple-deficit legacy, notably the poor upbringing of children.

Studies have credited education of women with special benefits, which Hannum and Buchmann (2003) described as "the likely echo effects on their children" (p. 8). This realization has motivated education and other leaders to show particular interest in female education. In the 1920s, a time in Ghana's history when coed secondary education was uncommon, Dr. Kwegyir Aggrey tried to popularize the concept "with this mantra: 'If you educate a man you simply educate an individual, but if you educate a woman you educate a family'" (Osseo-Asare, 2009, p. 1). Education stratification in Ghana will continue to evade solution if certain parts of the country persist in recording

exceptionally low levels of female education achievement. The quandary facing women in the country faces certain communities as well.

Spatial Stratifications

Spatial stratification refers to patterns of inequality that are geographical or spatial in nature. Communities, localities, or geographical areas may exhibit certain characteristics that categorize them as disadvantaged, as opposed to others that are more favored or advantaged. The following two spatial stratifications are presented as enhancers of education stratification, for they are strong features on the Ghanaian scene.

Rural-urban disparity. In 1992, about 67% of Ghanaians lived in rural areas, in conditions often at variance with those in urban areas (Mongabay, 2009). Rural-urban disparity is a problem in most developing countries, with the urban populations often occupying a position of advantage. In Ghana the urban areas enjoy higher living standards and better allocation of social services, while "the rural districts fall into the lowest quartile" in these respects (Tsikata & Seini, 2004, p. 7; See also Songsore, 1989). Two main reasons account for this. First, the urban populations have the high-salaried jobs, or are otherwise more gainfully employed in lucrative commercial and other activities. It is not just about weaker education credentials of the rural folk. People in rural areas are still disadvantaged even if they are as qualified as their urban counterparts. This is because, as Hannum and Buchman (2003) explained, "children in impoverished and isolated areas often lack ready access to urban labor markets in which education credentials directly affect employment" (p. 8). Secondly, since colonial times, care has

always been taken to adequately serve the urban and administrative centers with social amenities, for the benefit primarily of government officials (Tsikata & Seini, 2004).

For these reasons as well, urban centers are favored with a much higher level of education delivery. Urban schools are generally better provided for, in terms of infrastructure, teaching and leaning materials, and amenities like water and electricity. These schools are regularly well staffed, and sometimes overstaffed, with the best teachers available. Most teachers resist with all their might, and use all the influence they can muster, to avoid posting to rural areas, where social amenities are scant. Sometimes, nonperforming teachers are sent on disciplinary transfer to rural areas, where they perform even more abysmally out of protest and discontent. Such transfers contribute to the deterioration of education delivery in rural areas, and also reinforce the perception that a rural posting is punitive or vindictive.

The problem of rural school staffing is not peculiar to Ghana, or developing nations for that matter. There are hard-to-staff schools in all parts of the world, and these usually include "schools in highly urban and rural areas, especially those schools serving low-income, minority, and low-achieving students" (Webb & Norton, 2009, p. 98). Like other workers, teachers need a certain modicum of material motivation and incentives, and these schools have little of that to offer (Webb & Norton, 2009).[8]

Rural-urban education stratification thrives also on the comparative ignorance and impotence of the rural folk, vis-à-vis their urban counterparts. As Tsikata and Seini

[8] Commenting on staffing in USA schools, Webb and Norton (2009) noted that "high-wealth suburban districts always have a 'glut' of applicants, while…low-wealth urban and rural districts are the ones that have the most difficulty attracting and retaining teachers and administrators" (p. 105).

(2004) observe, the rural-urban imbalance "is also reflected in the unequal distribution of decision-making power between urban and rural interest groups" (p. 7). Consequently, education leaders know who to please in order to protect their jobs, and who they can disappoint with impunity. Besides, these officials rarely live in or send their children to schools in the deprived rural areas, and so have little personal stake in the welfare of these schools. Another factor is that urban people make more financial contribution to enhance education delivery in their schools, for they are more able—and willing—to do this.

Successive governments have taken cognizance of the rural-urban disparity and have tried to address it in different ways. One such effort was the launching, in 1984, of the "Rural Manifesto." This program evaluated levels and causes of underdevelopment in rural areas and recommended rural development programs. These programs included the establishment of over 120 rural banks and the intensification of rural electrification. The goal of this rural-based initiative was to mitigate the harsh socioeconomic realities facing Ghanaians resident in rural areas (Mongabay, 2009). While some socioeconomic benefits of this initiative cannot be discounted for all rural areas, it is not immediately apparent that it has impacted education stratification in any appreciable way. Rural-urban inequities are diffused all over the country, but are more visible in the north-south disparity.

North-South Disparity. In 1995, a high-powered team of researchers undertook a nation-wide study to investigate rural-urban education inequity at the primary and secondary level. The researchers—Kraft et al. (1995)—titled their research *A Tale of Two*

Ghanas: The View from the Classroom. The choice of this title was apt because it indicated the glaring education disparities the study uncovered, between Northern Ghana and the rest of the country. It was as if two countries existed side by side, one more developed than the other. Evidence from other sources supported this visualization, with the addition that the disparities are to be found in all spheres of national life, and not in education alone.

As is the case with most African countries, Ghana is fundamentally a composite of tribes, even though, after 54 years of independence, the sense of nationhood is increasingly reinforced. The fact remains that Ghanaians commonly think of themselves first in terms of their ethnic identity, and only secondly as nationals of their country. To make matters worse, the tendency is for some tribes to regard themselves as superior to others, and to look down on them. There is a strong need to reverse this skewed order of affiliation or allegiance by Ghanaians.

The country known today as Ghana was referred to as the "Gold Coast," which was a composite territorial entity comprising "the Gold Coast Colony, the Colony of Ashanti, and the Protectorate of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast" (Bening, 1990, p. 1). The Ashanti and Gold Coast colonies developed much more in unison, and the two were formally united when Ashanti joined the Accra-based Legislative Council in 1946 (Bening, 1990). On the other hand, the Northern Territories remained as a distinct administrative unit, and were treated differently from the other territories of the Gold Coast (Naameh, 2003). Research into the era of British colonial hegemony (Bening, 1972; Dickson, 1968; Ewusi, 1976; Naameh, 2003; Songsore, 1979; Songsore, 1989;

Tsikata & Seini, 2004) revealed developmental and education policies that marginalized the Northern Territories—present day Northern Ghana—firmly laying the foundations for inequities for ages to follow.

The north-south disparity, however, is present in other West African countries as well. Tsikata and Seini (2004) asserted that "the general observation is that there are widening inequities between a more developed south coastal area and an underdeveloped periphery in the sahelian north" (p. 5) of the West Africa sub-region. Apart from colonial policy, which is discussed below, Christian missionary activity also played an important role in this. At least in the case of Ghana, all the missionaries arrived by sea on the shores of the country in the South, except the Missionaries of Africa (the "White Fathers") who came in from present day Burkina Faso, to the north. It was the missionaries, rather than the colonialists, who gave priority to education. Explaining the British colonialists' lethargy in regard to education, Oti-Agyen et al. (2005) suggested that "there was the feeling in Britain around this time that it was not the duty of government to satisfy the education needs of the people" (p. 54). So while missionary groups like the Basel Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the Presbyterian Mission, the Roman Catholic Mission, and the Seventh-Day Adventist Mission took in hand the task of educating locals in the South by opening primary schools, secondary schools, technical and agricultural institutions, as well as training colleges, starting from 1928 (Oti-Agyen et al., 2005), the north was virtually left untouched.

This is just one factor in the complex and much referenced north-south disparity, but, as Tsikata and Seini (2004) well observed, "a critical factor in the north-south divide

is the uneven distribution of natural resources within Ghana" (p. 6). Moreover, the factors at play in rural-urban inequalities are active also in the north-south disparity. Northern Ghana is basically rural, underdeveloped, and relatively sparsely populated. Tamale is the most significant city in Northern Ghana, and is the hub of whatever industrialization the North may boast of (Songsore, 1989; Tsikata & Seini, 2004; Zan & van Klinken, 2008). Residency in Northern Ghana, which covers one-third of the country's territorial expanse, accounts for just about 20% of the country's population (Zan & van Klinken, 2008).

Two key parameters of welfare and developmental disparities, namely, the social welfare index, and the rate of literacy, both place Northern Ghana at the bottom echelons, in respect to the rest of the country. As at 1989, the social welfare index showed the whole north falling within the fourth quartile, with the exception of Tamale district which placed in the third quartile (Songsore, 1989; Tsikata & Seini, 2004). Regarding the second parameter, "all the northern districts fell at the very bottom of the literacy scale whereas only five out of a total of 37 districts in the South were to be found in the same bottom category" (Tsikata & Seini, 2004, p. 6, citing Songsore, 1989). Zan and van Klinken (2008) revealed that "while over half of the population in the South is literate (54%), in the North this is still less than one third (32%)!" (p. 5). [9]

Positing a north-south socioeconomic disparity does not mean that everyone in Northern Ghana is poor. The broad categorization of Northern Ghana as poor and in need

[9] A 2007 study conducted by World University Service of Canada (WUSC) and the Integrated Social Development Centre (ISODEC) found "that the Northern Region of Ghana suffers from poverty, literacy, education enrolment and completion and ranks last among the 10 regions" (GNA, 2007, p. 1).

of special intervention is, however, accurate. Indeed, as Tsikata and Seini (2004) pointed out, the data indicated a worsening north-south economic disparity:

> While overall in Ghana in 1992 some 52% of the population were living below the poverty line, this had reduced by 1999 to 40%, a reduction of almost a quarter. However, for the same period in three Regions the poverty actually increased... In Upper East Region the increase was 32%, and by 1999 almost 90% of the people there were considered living in poverty.…Some projections have been done on what would happen to poverty in Ghana by 2015, if policies and international conditions would not change. The prediction is that in 2015 the poverty head count would be down to 23% for Ghana, a further decrease of 40% since 1999. But the same projections indicate poverty figures in the three northern Regions between 60 and 70%, hence without "the burden of the North" poverty in Ghana would be down to 10% in 2015. (p. 5)

Naameh (2003) said it well when he observed that "in spite of the multiplicity of ethnic groups.…factors of history have always considered the north as one people in its experience of victimization and marginalization" (p. 7). Incidentally, the term "ntafuor," which is the Twi word for twins, is applied to northerners in a careless lumping together of all people of northern extraction, indicating that they are all "alike." Some newspaper surveys have manifested a similar "ntafuor mentality." They have drawn criticism and protests, especially from northerners, when they mentioned the various ethnic groups by name, but were content to make a broad reference to "the North," or "Northerners." The impression created was that distinction between northern tribes was not as serious a consideration as for southern tribes. The continued application of the term "ntafuor" in reference to northerners, in spite of its derogatory connotations, betrays an inter-ethnic relational imbalance. However, the irony is palpable: Northern Ghanaians are indeed "alike." They are alike in their deprivation. The categorization of all northern tribes as "one" also indicates that the north-south disparity is basically an ethnic one as well.

The inter-ethnic dynamics in Ghana tend to re-enforce the cultural deficit theory. In education, this theory is based on the false perception that minority students, or students of low socioeconomic status necessarily suffer from a handicap or deficit in regard to the upper-class values of their white colleagues, which the school must work hard to ameliorate (Kozol, 2005). The Ghanaian application of this theory is at the inter-ethnic level. It is sustained by the way some tribes hold themselves in an exalted position in relation to others, and tend to look down on other tribes as inferior to themselves. The application of the tag "ntafuor" to northerners, as explained above, is one manifestation of this attitude, and is effective in creating in some northerners, especially the uneducated, a diminished self-esteem, and a feeling that they suffer from a sociocultural deficit. This makes some such northerners to use southern names, in the vain hope of hiding their northern identity. While the choice of southern names by northerners has benefit for national cohesion, there is little evidence that southerners embrace northern names.

The north-south disparity, as explained so far, presents only part of the picture, but it is enough to show what a formidable challenge this situation poses to education equity. It also shows that a meaningful solution needs a strong, determined, and purposeful intervention or strategic targeting. Unfortunately, many in the country have been in a state of denial of the North's crippling disadvantage. Some are unaware of the realities, while others prefer not to reckon with them. This denial is similar to the

difficulty of many in the American society about acknowledging the presence and effects of class in their society, as hooks (2000) well explained:

> For so long everyone has wanted to hold on to the belief that the United States is a class-free society—that anyone who works hard enough can make it to the top. Few people stop to think that in a class-free society there would be no top. While it has always been obvious that some folks have more money than other folks, class difference and classism are rarely overtly apparent, or they are not acknowledged when present. The evils of racism and, much later, sexism, were easier to identify and challenge than the evils of classism. We live in a society where the poor have no public voice. No wonder it has taken so long for many citizens to recognize class—to become class conscious. (p. 5)

Fortunately, many Ghanaians are now moving out of the state of denial of the obvious differences between the North and the South of the country. Various governments have made some effort to alleviate the north-south inequities. The approach has, however, been too piecemeal to achieve significant results. With a new government in place, northerners have been given reason for hope. The current President of Ghana, Professor John Atta Mills, in his first state-of-the-nation address to parliament, expressed government's determination to address this problem:

> In accordance with a long-standing social contract with our people, we will undertake rapid efforts to bridge the developmental gap between the North and South and re-vitalize the Central Regional Developmental Commission (CEDECOM). Specifically, my administration will in 2009 establish the Savannah Accelerated Development Authority (SADA) as a more holistic development agency to harness the development of the three northern regions and Districts in the Brong-Ahafo and Volta Regions contiguous to the Northern Region. (GNA, 2009a, p. 1)

It is too early to decide whether or not this is one of those politically motivated statements that do not stand the test of time. However, Zan and van Klinken (2008, p. 2) are right when they observed that "to correct the [north-south] historical imbalance and the ecological differences requires more than nation-wide policies and demands specific

policy choices." So far, such policy decisions have not been forthcoming for various reasons.

A leading reason is the state of denial referred to above. Both the governments and people of Ghana have played the ostrich, and have refused to be persuaded by the damning statistics on the North. Attempts to draw sympathy to the plight of northerners have often met with ill will, ridicule, hostility, or at best indifference, from the majority of Ghanaians. Whenever the issue of the North comes up for discussion, one is sure to hear an opinion like, "the whole country is poor, not the North alone." This may explain why the President, in the statement quoted above, found it necessary to link the northern problem with other developmental issues in the country. As Zan and van Klinken (2008) pointed out, governmental neglect and failure to adequately address this issue, "comes in the guise of 'national policies,' [and of] not discriminating between Regions" (p. 3)."[10]

However, sometimes discrimination "against" Regions does occur at the level of policy implementation, while maintaining the façade of not discriminating between Regions. This happens because of failure to see the nation as one, and to show particular sensitivity to the proverbial weakest link in the chain. In the process, the already deprived Regions suffer still more deprivation. The impression one gets is that it is all about who has the voice and the clout to influence decisions. Zan and van Klinken (2008) demonstrate with depressing clarity how initiatives like the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP), and the application of funds from the Highly Indebted Poor Country

[10] However, as Zan and van Klinken (2008) pointed out, "Within the situation of structural disadvantage as the North is faced with, special consideration in national policies is an essential and legitimate instrument. By not discriminating between Regions, national policies end up reinforcing existing regional disparities" (p. 6).

(HIPC) scheme,[11] did not adequately benefit the North as originally intended, and all this in the name of "fair" national policy.

Ghanaians expect their northern brothers and sisters to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps. While this attitude may be excusable on the part of the general populace, at least government must accept its responsibility to deal with the systemic problems, the structural handicaps, and other roadblocks to progress in the North (Zan & van Klinken, 2008). A good place to start is education. Education stratification reinforces socioeconomic stratification, and vice versa. Quist (2003) makes the point that literacy empowers a population to stand up for its political, economic, and social rights, and to ameliorate its health and family circumstances. Northerners simply do not stand a chance of advancing on any front if they continue to lag behind the rest of the country in education achievement. While striving to improve upon the South's 54% literacy rate, still more effort is required in the North to ameliorate its 32% rate of literacy (Tsikata & Seini, 2004; Zan & van Klinken, 2008). Maintaining the same effort in both North and South, in the name of "fairness," would be a manifestation of what is referred to as "horizontal equity [which] holds that students who are alike should be treated the same" (Odden & Picus, 2008, p. 66). All students in Ghana may be said to be "alike," but unresolved disparities accentuate their differences.

Policy makers are often content with the contention that efforts are being made to improve education "all over the country." But hiding behind such platitudes disregards

[11] The HIPC plan is a World Bank and IMF initiative to relieve the world's poorest countries of debt burdens.

empirical evidence. It is a gimmick purported to hide a lack of political will and courage to acknowledge and address existing disparities (Zan & van Klinken, 2008).

The disparities between Northern and Southern Ghana have deep roots in history. Naameh (2003) elaborates on an aspect of this historical heritage. He reports that when the Ashanti kingdom conquered the Northern Gonja and Dagomba kingdoms, it imposed on them annual fines, including able-bodied men and women, 1,500 from the Dagomba state, and nearly 2,000 from the Gonja state. This went on for over 100 years, from 1772 to 1874, when the British overcame the Ashanti. The Ashanti kingdom assisted the two northern kingdoms with limited supplies of Danish guns to enable them raise the annual human levy, at the expense of other northern tribes (Naameh, 2003). As a result, "the cream of the working and thinking population of the North was annually transported to Ashanti in a manner that affected the self worth of northern populations" (Naameh, 2003, p. 2). To add insults to injury, this tragedy of the "pre-colonial depopulation of the area became frequently cited by the colonial administration as a reason for not needing to invest in the North and this further disadvantaged the North in terms of development" (Naameh, 2003, p. 3). The consequences of this historical and colonial baggage are proving difficult to alleviate.

Colonial Legacy

Scholars and writers (Atakpa, 1996; Bening, 1972, 1990; Dickson, 1968; GNA, 2009c; Naameh, 2003; Songsore, 1979, 1989; Tsikata & Seini, 2004) have established beyond contention that some of the notable disparities in present-day Ghana are of colonial origin. In particular, the north-south education stratification has deep roots in

colonial policy. Ghanaian history reveals that at least three centuries separate the north and the south of Ghana, insofar as formal education is concerned. Atakpa (1996) related that the Europeans, who ventured to the shores of Ghana, brought Southern Ghana into contact with their kind of education as early as the 16th century. In the North, however, the first public primary school was not opened until 1909.

The north-south education disparity was, however, exacerbated by what Atakpa (1996) called "a deliberately hostile attitude towards the North in her education policy" (p. 2) by the colonial governors of the then Gold Coast. This is typified in a revealing pronouncement by one Governor, Sir Frederick Hodjson of the Gold Coast, cited in Atakpa (1996):

> For the present, I therefore can [not] too strongly urge the employment of all available resources of the government upon the development of the country south of Kintampo leaving the Northern Territories to be dealt with in future years. I would not spend upon the Northern Territories—upon in fact the hinterland of the colony—a single penny more than is absolutely necessary for their suitable administration and the encouragement of the transit trade.[12] (p. 2)

The Chief Commissioner of the Northern Territories, W. J. A. Jones, unwittingly summarized colonial policy and attitude toward the North when he described northerners as "an amiable but backward people, useful as soldiers, policemen and labourers in the mines and cocoa farms; in short fit only to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for their brothers in the colony and Ashanti" (Atakpa, 1996, p. 3). In other words, it was

[12] The Northern Territories mentioned here include roughly the three regions of present day Northern Ghana, often referred to simply as "the North." It would seem that "the colonial government focused purely on 'maintaining law and order' and did not initiate any meaningful education in the North, even actively discouraging missionary efforts as from the White Fathers in Navrongo" (Zan & van Klinken, 2008, p. 1).

considered better to keep the northerners uneducated so they could serve as a pool of convenient and cheap labor for the development of the rest of the colony.

To be sure, the colonialists found a relatively dismal situation in the North due to the extortionary activities of the Ashanti kingdom, referred to above, which impoverished the North in terms of human resources. However, colonial policy made no attempt to right the wrongs of this unfortunate history. In fact the administration added to the conundrum by continuing a policy of neglect of the Northern Territories and exploitation of their viable manpower (Naameh, 2003). The administration found more ways of adding to the suffering of a people already in pain. "Apart from the export of labor to the South, forced labor was used in the North for the construction of roads, rest houses, market stalls and administration buildings" (Naameh, 2003, p. 4). Furthermore, the administration relied almost completely on the North for mass conscription of able-bodied men to the police and army, such that "by 1914, northerners in the army and police constituted about ninety per cent of the forces on the entire Gold Coast, and remained so till the end of the colonial period" (Naameh, 2003, p. 5). Many of these became the un-named and un-sung casualties of the First World.

This skewed colonial policy suited the convenience of the colonial administration. In fact, far from seeing any unfairness in their approach, the colonialists saw themselves as benefactors to the North, since they contended that their presence helped keep slave raiders at bay, and checked the occurrence of inter-ethnic conflicts in the North (Naameh, 2003). However, observers are not impressed. There is everything unfair about exploiting the human resources of the Northern Territories in the manner just described, and in

pursuing policies that laid foundations for further exploitation by future generations (Atakpa, 1996; Bening, 1972; Naameh, 2003; Tsikata & Seini, 2004; Zan & van Klinken, 2008).

The colonialists were right in their prediction of northerners being the hewers of stone and drawers of water for the rest of the country. In post-colonial Ghana, northerners still migrate seasonally to provide labor on the fertile farms of commercial yam and corn farmers in the Brong Ahafo Region and the Afram plains. Northerners continue to toil on the cocoa plantations of Southern Ghana. More alarmingly, children of school going age have been leaving their northern towns and villages and going to urban centres in Southern Ghana to work as couriers, known as "kaayaa-yees." They do so mainly because of hard conditions in their northern environments, and because of enticing stories their peers tell about comparatively better conditions in the South, upon their return from "kaayaa-yee" adventures. The sight of these often ragged and unkempt northern children in the towns and cities of the South, plying their miserable trade of servitude, and often receiving the contempt of those they seek to serve, inflicts further dents in the image of the northerner in general. It also bears further testimony to the north-south disparity, even though this is a mistaken attempt by the northern youth to escape this unkind reality.

Both Government and Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) have been making efforts to arrest this alarming drift of northern children away from school into the streets of Southern Ghana. In August 2009, the Regional Minister of the Upper East Region "issued a directive imposing an indefinite ban on under aged children travelling down South without being accompanied…[in order] to bring an end to the increasing

luring of innocent children in the region to Accra and other coastal towns for non-existent jobs" (Gadugah, 2009, p. 1). Yet the phenomenon continues unabated (Gadugah, 2009).

Regarding the contribution of the colonial administration to education stratification, Tsikata and Seini (2004) do not mince words: "The disparities in education were created by colonial policy to keep the North backward so as to guarantee cheap labour to the South" (p. 6). This assertion is borne out by the fact that colonial policy for Northern Ghana was characterized by a slow and often hesitant introduction of formal education. Hence, it was not the government that took the lead in educating northerners. "The first school in Northern Ghana was opened by missionaries [the 'White Fathers'] in Navrongo in December 1907, and the first government school was opened in Tamale in 1909" (Tsikata & Seini, 2004, p. 6). The results of this education neglect are not hidden, as Zan and van Klinken (2008) pointed out:

> Some secondary schools in the South are celebrating a 100 years of existence, and the University of the Gold Coast started in 1948, yet by the mid 1950s the entire North had six students in secondary school and one attending university. It is just a bit over 50 years ago that the first secondary school was established in Northern Region! (pp. 1-2)

However, while pointing fingers at this damaging colonial policy, it seems fitting to consider how far post-colonial policies have shown serious commitment to undoing the harm of colonial neglect.

Although some of the north-south inherited disparities have ameliorated, others have intensified in post-colonial Ghana. Tsikata and Seini (2004) refer to Nigeria, Benin, and Togo, and other West African countries where northerners defied the colonial heritage and were able to mobilize effectively to secure viable deals to improve their lot

on the national front. This has not been the case for the people of Northern Ghana, as Tsikata and Seini (2004) observed:

> On the eve of independence, the inter-regional balance of forces was such that a weak and inarticulate elite in the North could not have expected to win any concessions for redressing the imbalance at the national level from the sophisticated and highly westernized emerging dominant classes of the Colony, Trans-Volta Togoland and the powerful cocoa interests of Ashanti. (p. 9)

Even today, the northern elite remains divided by political affiliations and other parochial interests, and therefore unable to provide focused and convincing leadership to draw the needed attention to the predicament of the North (Zan & van Klinken, 2008). This predicament is very keenly felt in the sphere of education, whose development in the North was inhibited from the start.

Roots of Constricted Development of Education in Northern Ghana

The development of education in the Northern Territories began much later than in the South. To begin with, the colonial presence and education effort in the North occurred much later. Even when education finally started in the North, the effort put into developing it was lackadaisical. Writing on the systematic and deliberate orchestration of disparity in the country already in colonial times, Bening (1990) asserted, "In no sphere was the policy of separate development better manifested than in the field of education" (p. 1). However, the records also revealed that local conditions, perceptions, and attitudes presented obstacles to the development of education in the North (Bening, 1990).

British Colonial Education Effort and Policy

The colonial administration opened their first school in the Northern Territories in March 1909. The school was opened in Tamale, two years after the Catholic missionaries

had opened a school in Navrongo (Bening, 1990). The administration's primary interest was to educate elite children. Hence, the first beneficiaries of their education initiative were sons of chiefs and other notables (Bening, 1990).

The second colonial administration primary school started in Gambaga in 1912. But, while the Tamale school had a relatively good success story, the Gambaga school suffered big enrollment setbacks, in spite of the colonial Commissioners' efforts and determination to see the school progress and avoid closure (Bening, 1990). The story of the primary schools of Tamale and Gambaga illustrates the vicissitude of the education experience in the Northern Territories. The Gambaga school narrowly avoided shutting down, and the administration added to their first two education initiatives by opening schools in Wa, Lawra, and Salaga (Bening, 1990).

The Missionary Contribution

All the Churches that sent out missionaries to the Gold Coast recognised the importance of literacy as a tool of evangelization. Consequently, as Bening (1990) remarks, "some form of literary instruction has always formed part of the evangelising and pastoral effort of every religious mission" (pp. 21-22). Most of the missionaries also gave priority attention to formal education. In fact the early arrival of missionaries in the South gave that part of the country a big head start in education (Amamoo, 2007). Insofar as the Northern Territories are concerned, the Missionaries of Africa, who brought Catholicism to that part of the country, were the first ever initiators of formal education. This Catholic religious congregation, known more popularly by their nickname the "White Fathers," started a school in Navrongo in 1907, two years ahead of the colonial

administration, and about just one year after they entered the area from neighboring Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) (Bening, 1990).

To their credit, it was officials of the administration who pressurized the missionaries to open a school. The administration perceived the missionaries as having little to occupy them, and were anxious to avoid a similar perception by the locals, that they were a bunch of idle white men. The administration also gave some support to the missionaries in their efforts to keep the school going (Bening, 1990).

The White Fathers seemed well equipped for the education assignment. They had made intensive efforts to quickly learn the local language, and they facilitated the children's learning of English by giving them literacy in their own language from the very start. This stood in marked contrast with what obtained in the government schools staffed by southerners who did not learn the local languages (Bening, 1990). However, initially, the missionaries found it difficult to match the standards of the government schools, especially those in the South. This was due to poor and irregular school attendance on the part of the pupils, and inadequate human and material resources available to the mission (Bening, 1990). With time, however, the missionaries delivered a more rounded education because, apart from the subjects taught in the government schools, "the mission was doing good work by teaching its pupils in addition carpentry and masonry as well as improving the local hat, rope and mat industries" (Bening, 1990, p. 49).

Indeed, from 1928 the administration began to give the White Fathers' education effort its due credit. During discussions on indirect rule, "some officers believed that

government schools were unlikely to assist native administration whereas good mission schools of the type of the White Fathers would produce men of the right calibre" (Bening, 1990, p. 71). The White Fathers were therefore encouraged to open more schools, and the attitude was that "ultimately, the mission should take over all the schools in the Northern Province of the Protectorate" (Bening, 1990, p. 72). However, there was something underhanded about this attitude. The reasoning was that the colonial administration would save money on education in the North by shifting the schools to the mission (Bening, 1990). This insincere attitude was only part of the obstacles that affected education in the North.

Obstacles to Education Development in Northern Ghana

A review of the development of formal education in the Northern Territories revealed certain factors that retarded the progress of formal education in the Northern Territories (Bening, 1990; Naameh, 2003). These factors made significant contribution to the education stratification that is in evidence in the country today. They include the following:

1. Unwillingness or reluctance of some of the Muslims to send their children to what they perceived to be Christian schools (Bening, 1990; Naameh, 2003).Tamale, Gambaga, and the other towns in Northern Ghana, where the colonial administration chose to open schools, had large Muslim populations and influence.
2. There was also unwillingness of some of the children to commit themselves to learning. According to Bening (1990), "the pupils [of Gambaga primary school]

also refused to do their homework, preferring to spend their free time playing and dancing around in the town" (p. 7).

3. All the early teachers sent to schools in the Northern Territories were southerners. Some northern tribes resented them for two reasons: they were perceived to be Christians, and/or they were regarded as traditional enemies because of previous wars between certain southern and northern tribes.
4. Schools were located in only a few administrative centres and towns. This meant that children from the different parts of the Northern Territories had to leave their own tribal areas and travel extremely long distances if they wanted any schooling. As the schools were not boarding schools, school children from distant places endured extreme hardship. Many such pupils did not return to school after the first school vacation, when they succeeded in returning to their homes. The stories they told did not encourage others to undertake the venture. Besides, families loathed to let go of their children for the greater part of the year, as this denied them their children's company and labour. It soon became common belief that it was children who did not enjoy their parents' favour that were sent away to such (distant) schools.[13] Sometimes force was applied to achieve enrollment (Bening, 1990).
5. Reluctance in providing schools and education facilities in the North. Appeals of Commissioners of the Northern Territories to the Director of Education, or the Governor, for the opening of more schools or for school facilities often went unheeded. Unabashedly, reasons adduced indicated that the Northern Territories

[13] It was for this reason of proximity that a policy exception was made to institute boarding facilities in some primary schools in only the Northern Territories.

were not as much a priority as the other parts of the Gold Coast. For example, in 1923, Governor Guggisburg responded to one such appeal thus: "owing to the necessity for rigid economy and to the fact that considerable expenditure will be incurred in the near future in the building of Achimota College…no additional day Primary Schools will be opened in the Northern Territories in the next three or four years" (cited in Bening, 1990, p. 13). It is no wonder then that, as Bening (1990) remarked, "by 1924, there were still only five government and two mission schools serving a population of about one million" (p. 50) in the Northern Territories. Reluctance to spend on the Northern Territories was an enduring characteristic of colonial policy, which manifested itself also when, in 1932, ways and means were being sought to cut down the annual budget of the Gold Coast. A Committee on Education Expenditure in the whole colony (set up in 1932) recommended that government relegate its responsibility of educating the people of the Northern Territories to the missions, especially the White Fathers, since they delivered education at a cheaper cost (Bening, 1990).

6. Closure of schools with untrained teachers. In line with the first of Governor Guggisberg's sixteen principles of education which required thoroughness of primary education, and principle six which required the best possible teachers to teach in the schools, untrained teachers "were dismissed from service and the government closed down some 150 'bush' schools" (Oti-Agyen et al., 2005, p. 68). In the North, there were not too many such schools to close down, but the effect of this policy was a halt or delay in opening new schools unless and until

they could be staffed with trained teachers. There were hardly any trained teachers in the North, which had to rely on the few sent from the South.

7. For generations people in the South had been in contact with Europeans. According to the first Superior of the "White Fathers," Rev. Oscar Morin, this explained why people in the South "understood and felt the need for instruction and technical education to get their livelihood" (as cited in Bening, 1990, p. 22). The situation, according to the priest, was quite different in the North, where the people were suspicious both of strangers, including the missionaries, and the new ideas they introduced, including formal education (Bening, 1990).
8. Some northern tribes manifested strong attachment to tradition and customary practices, and feared that formal education would lead the youth away from the ways of their ancestors. It did not take long for the White Fathers to find this out, as they struggled to open and maintain a school in Navrongo (Bening, 1990).[14]
9. Double standards of the colonial administration in dealing with the religious missions in the South and those in the Northern Territories. Missions in the South were not subjected to the kind of restrictions suffered by their counterparts in the North. The complaint of J. M. Stormonth, an aggrieved Wesleyan Methodist missionary in the North, illustrates this point: "….I find that I have less liberty than my native cook and that my position seems to be that of a prisoner in Tamale" (as cited in Bening, 1990, p. 31). Indeed this discriminatory attitude caused the Wesleyan Methodist

[14] This attitude was, however, not peculiar to the North. Oti-Agyen et al. (2005) reported that when a Wesleyan (Methodist) missionary visited the King of Asante, he was well received and given some land to start a mission. However, he was not allowed to open a school. The reason was that "the Asante monarch and his elders felt that school and its new ways of life were bound to destroy age-long respectable traditional institutions" (p. 34).

Mission to abandon their efforts in the Northern Territories, in 1916 (Bening, 1990)[15]. The colonial administration restricted the sphere of influence of the White Fathers as well, citing the failure of these missionaries' first education initiative in Navrongo. This attitude, however, changed from 1928, when the contribution of the White Fathers was viewed more positively by the administration.

10. Double standards of the colonial administration in dealing with the general and education development of the North. Governor Guggisberg is credited with good developmental and education policy formulation and implementation in the Gold Coast, but even during his governorship (1919-1927), when "the cocoa boom which made more money available for development facilitated the implementation of the schemes….the Northern Territories were practically excluded from the general stream of progress" (Bening, 1990, p. 46).
11. Limited aspirations were set for northern children. In spite of the recognition that northern children were as capable of learning as their southern counterparts, the colonial administration considered that they did not need a high education. This attitude was put into words by Mr. R. F. Honter, the Deputy Director of Education, after his brief visit to the Northern Territories, in 1924: "The pursuits of the Northern Territories people are mainly agricultural and pastoral. Their need is not a high academic standard but enough English education to carry on business and a practical

[15] Commenting on this sorry pass Bening (1990) wrote: "Thus the Northern Territories were not only deprived of the additional education facilities, but also the incidental social and medical benefits that would have flowed from the presence of the mission" (p. 32).

acquaintance with such trades as will fit them to be useful members of the community" (as cited in Bening, 1990, p. 50).

12. The setting up of two education departments worked to the disadvantage of the struggling North. Teachers were no longer forthcoming from the South. The duplication in administrative expenses also "weakened the system in the North, which tended to stagnate without outside influences" (Bening, 1990, p. 54).
13. Employment opportunities for better educated northerners were few or nonexistent in the North, due to low socioeconomic development of the area. This affected education in two ways: It affected the enthusiasm and motivation of education seekers, and it led to a strange decision to further deprive northerners of quality education. This is how Bening (1990) described the problem: "When it became obvious that the Northern Territories would inevitably lose some of its best literates to the South until the area was more developed economically and socially, this had to be stopped by minimising the teaching of English and adopting Dagbani as the literary language of the Protectorate" (p. 54).[16]
14. The adoption of Dagbani as *lingua franca* for the Northern Territories, and as the language of instruction in their schools, affected education in the North in several ways. It restricted the choice and supply of teachers to those who could speak Dagbani, thus further limiting the opening of schools. It greatly reduced the teaching of English in the Northern Territories schools. Furthermore, the measure encroached on the self-esteem of non-Dagombas, and affected school enrollment.

[16] Dagbani is the language of Tamale and surrounding areas; the people who speak it are called Dagombas. Many other totally different languages and linguistic groups existed in the Northern Territories, and still do.

Major Walker Leigh, Chief Commissioner of the Northern Territories, properly identified these sentiments when he remarked, "in 1929 that there was no benefit adopting Dagbani and that if pupils had to learn any language other than their mother tongue it should be English if they were to make use of their education" (cited in Bening, 1990, p. 61). Besides, according to Bening (1990) "the adoption of a *lingua franca* was also a means of further isolating the Northern Territories from the Gold Coast Colony and Ashanti" (p. 60). As might be expected, the *lingua franca* project ran into severe difficulties, and was relinquished (Bening, 1990).

15. Schools in the Northern Territories suffered from inadequate supervision, since trained educationists and supervisors remained in the South, leaving the job of school supervision in the unsure hands of "political officers who had no training in the running of schools" (Bening, 1990, p. 70). Even the merging of Ashanti and the Northern Territories into one education zone, in 1922, did not help matters a great deal. The Provincial Inspector resided in Kumasi and seldom visited the Northern Territories.

The Seeds of North-South Education Stratification

The above obstacles are just some of the factors that were to give rise to a north-south education stratification. Other historical data emanating from the colonial era gave credence to the assertions discussed earlier in this chapter concerning the colonial legacy of disparities. Taken along with the obstacles to education development reviewed above, this historical data showed that we are reaping today what was sown in the past.

One of the seeds of the north-south education stratification was evidenced in the colonial administration's lack of commitment and political will to maintain high education standards in the North. Bening (1990) remarked that "between 1909 and 1925, the aim of education in the Northern Territories was to attain standards of primary schooling obtaining in the Gold Coast Colony and Ashanti" (p. 49). Surprisingly, the administration considered that "to give those primitive children a more advanced education would be a doubtful blessing at present" (cited in Bening, 1990, p. 49). Nevertheless, even the targeted primary level education in the North failed to match its counterpart in the South, due mainly to inadequate supply of teachers, "frequent transfer and the low quality of teachers, lack of regular inspection by competent educationists and inadequate equipment" (Bening,1990, p. 49).

Naameh (2003) rightly observed that "the desire to isolate the North led also to a delay in the opening of secondary schools and high institutions" (p. 5). This further deepened the education disparity between North and South, as Naameh (2003) revealed:

> Whereas the Wesleyans had established in the South a secondary school for boys in 1876 (Mfansipim) and for girls (Wesley Girls) in 1884, the first secondary school in the North was not opened until 1951. The training college preceded this in 1944. The retarding effect of colonial policy towards education in the North can be measured at the fact that at independence in 1957, the North could boast of only one university graduate, one who had qualified in Britain in 1953. By then there existed graduates of several professions in the South, notably lawyers, doctors and teachers. (p. 5)

The overwhelmingly focus on the South often left the North ignored or excluded from the scheme of the colony's affairs. For example, a committee set up in 1919 to review education in the colony, and to propose measures for extension and efficiency, made proposals "related to the development and extension of education facilities

especially in the Gold Coast Colony and in Ashanti but there was no reference to the Northern Territories" (Bening, 1990, p. 42). Also, when, under Governor Guggisberg, an education reform was launched, this disparity persisted. Two separate education departments were set, with Achimota and Tamale as centres to manage the separate education schemes of the South and the North respectively. However, as Bening (1990) well observed, "while Achimota was planned from the kindergarten through the infant and primary schools right up to the university level, the Tamale School was a central model institution for infant and primary education only" (p. 52).

Although the administration failed to fulfill its education obligations to the people of the North, it did not always show enough support to the missionaries who were frontrunners in this effort. Relations between the colonial administration and the missionaries, especially in their education efforts, were not always cordial. The administration sometimes frustrated the efforts of the White Fathers and other missions wishing to operate in the Northern Territories. One of the frustration measures was the requirement that all mission stations be staffed by at least one European, or that at least one be within easy reach of the station. Commenting on the real motive of this requirement, Bening (1990) noted that "as most of the mission stations in Southern Ghana were manned by African priests and catechists, this stipulation was merely intended to ensure that no new Missions could operate in the Protectorate" (p. 57). These historical factors, and many others, revealed some orchestration by the colonialists which resulted in an education stratification that favored the South.

By 1932 a picture of stratification had already emerged, going by the distribution of education institutions, as reported by Bening (1990):

> Thus there were only four mission and four government primary schools[17] in the Northern Territories in 1932 besides the Junior Trade School and the central Senior School at Tamale. On the other hand, there were forty-six government and assisted schools and sixty-eight non-assisted schools in Ashanti. In the Gold Coast Colony, the figures were three hundred and twenty-three and one hundred and seventy-eight respectively. (p. 58)

This lopsided development of education in the Gold Coast combined with other enhancers to deepen education stratification in favor of Southern Ghana.

Other Enhancers of Education Stratification

Unavoidable as it may be, education stratification thrives better in certain contexts. While some factors discourage stratification and promote equity, others tend to play an enhancing role. In Ghana, macro-structural factors like national education policies, and cost-sharing policies and structural adjustment programs concur to create favorable circumstances for education stratification.

Macro-structural Factors

National education policies. The Government of Ghana, through the Ministry of Education, controls, regulates, and monitors education in the country. Most of the schools in Ghana are public schools, and are under the control of the Ghana Education Service (GES). The education fortunes and prospects of Ghanaians, therefore, lie within the power of the state. Buchmann and Hannum (2001, and expanding on Fuller & Robinson, 1992) noted that a nation-state (like Ghana) "may shape the provision of education

[17] The Government schools were in Tamale, Gambaga, Wa, and Lawra. The four mission schools were all Catholic schools, and were sited at Navrongo, Bolgatanga, Wiaga, and Krachi (Bening, 1990, Naameh, 2003).

opportunities and determine the structure of the education system through its education policies" (p. 8). For good or for bad, successive governments of Ghana, since independence, have led the education effort by means of policy initiatives, laws, and education reforms.[18] It is not always clear that these initiatives and interventions have realized government's purported intention of creating equitable education opportunities and helping all Ghanaians attain their education aspirations (Government of Ghana, 2007a).

As discussed above, significant inequities persist in the country. These inequities affect the attainment of high education goals, resulting in education stratifications. This is exacerbated by the fact that education policies do not always reckon with existing inequities. A clear example is the north-south disparity. Until recently, many Ghanaians, including education leaders, have refused to acknowledge this disparity, in the face of glaring empirical evidence. Hence, education policy has not taken enough cognizance of this situation. Kraft et al. (1995) discovered this in their important study on education stratification in Ghana:

> There is a dramatic difference between the opportunities of the children in rural settings compared to those in urban and peri-urban settings. Differences exist between the Northern and the other regions of the country. These differences can be found in almost every aspect of schools including buildings, curriculum, furniture, toilets, textbooks, management, quality and motivation of teachers, parental wealth and education. The unqualified application of the policy of community involvement and participation is largely responsible for the dramatic inequities discovered. (p. 1)

[18] These include: The Education Act 1961; the Dzobo Report of 1973 (Recommended the JSS Concept); the New Structure and Content of Education 1974; the Education Commission Report on Basic and Secondary Education 1987/88; the Education Reform Programme 1987/88; the University Relationalization Committee Report 1988; the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) Programme; the FCUBE Policy Document and Programme of Operations, 1996; the Ghana Education Trust Fund - GET Fund Act 2000 (Act 581) (Government of Ghana, 2007a).

Also ignored in the shaping of education policy are north-south climatic differences. There are times in the year when the weather is so inclement in the North that teaching and learning are a bigger challenge than usual. The dry, windy and dusty harmattan months of December and January, as well as the extra-hot months of March and April are extreme weather conditions that distinguish the North from the rest of the country. Such emphatic differences ought to be factored into the annual academic calendar and suitable adjustments made for northern schools. This would create more scope for better use of school time.

Cooper et al. (2004) are right in their observation that "failure…to consider adequately the role and effects of history and context leads to a poor conceptualization of the policy process…" (p. 6). Ghanaian history has created unevenness in the education terrain that the Ministry of Education and the Ghana Education Service (GES) need to reckon with in fashioning effective policy. The colonial heritage as described above created a peculiar context as well. What Cooper et al. (2004) said about policy studies holds true for the policy process itself, namely, that "traditional policy studies often become trapped in the 'fallacy of presentism'—the tendency in policy studies to ignore the effects of past policies and their programmatic, institutional, cultural, and organizational histories" (p. 6). The negative impact of colonial policies on the North is too significant to be ignored in present-day education policy. Besides, the effects of other policies and of globalization are not making things any easier for a weakened Northern Ghana.

Globalization, structural adjustment and cost sharing policies. The challenge to educate the youth for an increasingly globalized world faces all nations on the planet, but it hits nations in the developing world with a greater force. Globalized forces coming by way of developing nations include "policies and preferences of international organizations or the spread of Western ideology and organizational forms (including modern education) throughout the world [that] influence education and stratification processes" (Buchmann & Hannum, 2001, p. 81). With little power to decide against these external policies, developing countries like Ghana often acquiesce, despite the destabilizing and stratifying consequences. Such policies tend to focus on efficiency and cost-sharing or cost recovery, to the neglect of the welfare of local populations, especially the more deprived in society (Tsikata & Seini, 2004; Zan & van Klinken, 2008).

Ghana's experience with these policies took the form of hikes in utility charges, especially water and electricity, as well as transportation fares, the infamous "cash and carry" policy for health care delivery, and the IMF-mandated Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) (Buchmann & Hannum, 2001; Tsikata & Seini, 2004; Zan & van Klinken). High school fees and levies raised the bar of access beyond the reach of the poor even in urban areas where education facilities abounded (Tsikata & Seini, 2004). In the rural areas and Northern Ghana, access was adversely affected by both high cost and paucity of education facilities, and compounded by poverty.

In a 1998 study on the effects of SAPs on Ghana, Ulf, Fumador, and Nyoagbe detected the following effects on education:

> Reduction in incomes of families resulted in the withdrawal of some children from school, either because they could not afford their fees or they wanted them

> to join the labour market. Decrease of real income of teachers as a result of structural adjustment resulted in brain-drain from the education sector to 'greener pastures'. This affected the quality of teaching and consequently the quality of school-education. Teachers who remained in the classroom started to combine their teaching jobs with other economic activities leading to increasing absenteeism and less commitment to their job. These effects of structural adjustment reinforced one another and led to the fall in enrollment rate. Structural adjustment affected the children of the poorest members of the population more severely than those who were better off. (p. 1)

Buchmann and Hannum (2001) warned of other possible consequences: the unrelenting "pressures from the IMF and donor agencies on indebted governments to privatize and decentralize their education systems may lead to greater inequities and declining education participation" (p. 82).

Among others, female education took yet another hit from these policies. Research evidence "indicates that SAPs disproportionately affect female participation in education, likely through their detrimental impact on survival strategies in poor households" (Buchmann & Hannum, 2001, pp. 81-82). University education was also impacted badly. This is because Ghana had to confront the issue of cost-sharing in education, particularly at the tertiary level. Admittedly, the burden of education expenditure had become rather taxing on government coffers. In 1989 Ghana government expenditure on education was 25.7% of total government expenditure, compared with Nigeria's 2.8% (Mongabay, 2009). Hence, in spite of violent student resistance, which often disrupted university programmes, government went ahead with the cost-sharing measures. The main measure was to shift the cost of board and lodging to students

(Atuahene, 2006; Mongabay, 2009).[19] This cost, when computed with outlay on textbooks, stationery, and personal effects, presented a grim financial encumbrance to university students, especially those from needy backgrounds.

Parliament enacted a bill setting up the Ghana Education Trust Fund (GETFund) to help government deal with the huge expenditure on education (Atuahene, 2006). That notwithstanding, the cost-sharing measure remained an incubus for many students. The consequences of this measure have been devastating for poorer and rural communities in the country, as they became further marginalized by their inability to contribute adequately toward ensuring quality education for their children. But before they could even come face to face with this new financial challenge, students from disadvantaged rural and northern schools had to beat the academic odds presented by school and family factors in order to gain admission to the university in the first place.

Family and School Factors

Family and school factors are strong determinants of student achievement, and have therefore been the focus of education research. However, research findings have not always been in accord on the preeminence of these two factors in relation to each other. Earlier researchers like Coleman et al. (1966), and Peaker (1971) placed family background above school factors as determinants of education achievement. However, later research found that school and teacher quality had greater impact on student achievement in poorer countries than in richer (Buchmann & Hannum, 2001). Years

[19] Atuahene (2006) found that "whilst different cost sharing mechanisms have been advanced to address these problems in most advanced countries, the situation is quite different in sub-Saharan African countries, where the introduction of cost sharing has generated serious agitations from students" (p. iii).

later, other researchers (Riddell, 1989; Lockheed & Longford, 1991) revisited the issues, and made contrasting discoveries, as Buchmann and Hannum (2001) reported:

> Regardless of national levels of wealth, family factors are more important predictors of education achievement than are school factors in most countries. They attribute this finding to continued education expansion and greater standardization of school quality at minimal levels in less-developed nations. (p. 87)

It would seem that the more school effects even out, the more family factors assume prominence. The roller coaster contrasts in these findings suggest the need to pay close attention to both school and family factors in scrutinizing an education policy like the one on extra classes.

In 1998, Ghana launched the Free Compulsory and Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) Programme. This was in fulfillment of a constitutional provision to work toward "free compulsory and universal basic education" (Republic of Ghana, 1992, Article 38, No. 2). This goal remains a mirage due to school and family factors, in addition to other enhancers of education stratification. The socioeconomic contexts of school and family factors have been extensively explored by studies (e. g. Buchmann & Hannum, 2001; Coleman, Campbell, Hobson, Heyneman, 1966; Heyneman & Lowley, 1983; Kozol, 2005; Lareau, 1989; Lockheed & Longford, 1991; Peaker, 1971). A multifaceted approach is required to attain education equality and effectiveness. This approach is often overlooked. As Buchmann and Hannum (2001) rightly observed, "only a handful of studies explicitly examine family background and school factors as simultaneous and interactive forces in determining education inequality" (p. 94).

Family factors. The dynamics of societal influence on the individual are often stronger in the primary society that we grow up in, namely, the family. Hence, the family has effects on the individual in many respects, and this varies from family to family. Family effects may include "socioeconomic status, family size and structure, and family decision-making processes" (Buchmann & Hannum, 2001, p. 82). The importance of the family in the formation of the human person cannot be over-emphasized. In education, family background assumes significance as well. For example, privileged families have the propensity to replicate their advantage down the generations. Privileged children are challenged and encouraged to achieve high academic laurels (Addae-Mensah et al., 1973; Opare, 1999). On the other hand, children from less privileged education backgrounds are deprived of this kind of encouragement and support.

Education research also indicated that the relationship between parental education and children's education is more evident with educated mothers (Bown, 1990; King & Lillard, 1987). Educated parents, especially mothers, are more likely to raise well educated children than illiterate mothers. Hence, the low level of female education in Northern Ghana (Atakpa, 1996; Ministry of Education, 1996) should be cause for concern. In 1996, it was found that "all the fifteen districts with the lowest ratio of female participation in primary education are in the northern part of the country" (Ministry of Education, 1996, p. 34). This situation of fewer northern girls in school creates, and tends to perpetuate, a spiraling cycle of disadvantage and education stratification in this deprived area.

Here again poverty and other difficulties confronting families often play a crucial role in children's (not just girls') access to school. Poor and disadvantaged parents stand in need of government support in dealing with family or household issues. By helping families improve on these adverse family factors, government can assist them to decide in favor of sending their children to school (Chao & Alper, 1998). Unfortunately, in poor communities, unfavorable family factors are often compounded by equally unfavorable school factors.

School factors. School factors are important determinants of student achievement. School effects include, among others, quantity and management of instructional time, classroom management, teaching and learning materials, teacher quality, school infrastructure, school facilities, and social organization (Buchmann & Hannum, 2001). Discussing factors that affect student academic performance in Ghana, Adjei (2003) mentioned also the following school factors: indiscipline in schools, number and quality of teachers, and school supervision.

Studies conducted on the impact of school factors on education outcomes have revealed that the social and economic contexts of schools are of prime importance (Buchmann & Hannum, 2001). Buchmann and Hannum (2001) have deduced from studies conducted on schools in both developed and developing countries that "schools in less-developed contexts clearly demonstrate that the impacts of specific policy initiatives depend on the environment in which schools function" (Buchmann & Hannum, 2001, p. 93). These findings would support the position that education policies purported to address education stratification need to be tailored to the peculiar conditions of affected

areas, if they are to attain effectiveness. They buttress the argument for specificity in dealing with education and other issues of the North (Zan & van Klinken, 2008). As will be further elaborated in Chapter Five, issues of time management pose serious challenges in Northern Ghana and other deprived areas of the country.

Time Management and Education Stratification

Management of school time is an accountability issue, and has a direct bearing on education stratification. Accountability is about doing what needs to be done to ensure the achievement of education goals. Accountability is meant to ensure that the youth are assisted in school to realize their full potential, and become productive and responsible adults. This entails guiding them to develop skills of life-long learning, while relating their school learning to productive future careers. The key players in the accountability challenge are the school, the teacher, and students themselves. The accountability requirements of these players are further examined in Chapter Five, in relation to the challenge of extra classes.

Time Management in Ghana Schools

The education system in any particular nation plays an overarching role in determining accountability, especially in the use of school time. School time may be categorized into four parts, viz., allotted time, instructional time, engaged time, and academic learning time (Boakye, 2006; Denham & Lieberman, 1980; Moore, 1998), arranged in order of strength of correlation to student achievement, from the weakest to the strongest (Boakye, 2006). Moore (1998) also introduced a fifth category which he

calls “mandated time,” that time which is prescribed by the state or education authority. For the purposes of this study, I will focus on allotted time and instructional time.

Allotted time is that time made available by policy and school regulations within the school day and school year, for teaching and learning activities in the school. Studies conducted in Ghana by Adjei (2002), Boakye (2006), and Sowah (2003) revealed a host of factors that whittle away some of this time. They include the following:

- Activities that teachers and students engage in apart from school work, such as farming, trading, and discordant extra classes.
- Travel time to school by teachers and students.
- Socioeconomic constraints that affect smooth conduct of normal life, e. g. lack of electricity and water.
- Severe weather conditions like the harmattan and hot months of the year.
- Inadequate infrastructure: poor shelter from rains and other weather conditions.
- Inadequate teacher supply, which causes teacher overload.
- Poor teacher quality.
- Teacher attitude to work and time management, leading to recurrent lateness and absenteeism.
- Inadequate or ineffective supervision.
- Excess time spent on extracurricular and other noninstructional activities, like sports, recreation, meetings, morning assemblies.
- Time loss in-between lessons.

- Loss of school time to holidays, celebrations, funerals, and disruptive activities like student and teacher strikes and other behaviors that create disorder in school.
- Monthly absence by teachers in rural areas to go to urban centers to access their salaries and attend to other business.

Instructional time, also called curricular time, refers to that quantum of school time allocated to purely instructional activities. Lockheed and Verspoor (1991) noted that "the amount of time available for teaching and learning academic subjects, and how well that time is used by teachers and students is consistently related to how students learn while they are in school" (p. 57). In related studies Atakpa and Ankomah (1998), and Opare (1999) found strong correlations between student performance and effective school time management, including proper management of instructional time. Educators know that both the quantum and the quality of instructional time are important, hence the need to intensify the effectiveness of instructional time use, and not just extend the material time (Hollowood, Salisbury, Rainforth, & Palombaro, 1994). As Adjei (2002) well observed, "like any other resource, the amount of available instructional time per se does not bring about expected quality school achievement" (p. 30).

Instructional time management is intimately linked to efforts to attain education goals, and is one of the distinguishing factors between good schools and others. Kemerer, Sansom, & Kemerer (2005) rightly asserted that "there is more to quality education than getting students to attend school" (p. 88). Other requisites of quality education include a safe learning environment, a challenging curriculum, high quality of teachers, and

effective instruction (Kemerer et al., 2005). All these factors have a bearing on the fruitful use of instructional time.

Obviously, the way instructional time is utilized makes a difference in education outcomes. Tasks are bound to be left uncompleted if the time allocated for them is not well applied. Effective time management entails saving time and also avoiding time waste. This calls for careful planning and prioritization of school and classroom activities. In general, the problem of availability and effective use of instructional time is aggravated by other tasks that engage teachers' attention. These include administrative matters like preparing for and attending staff meetings, student record keeping, managing student unruly behavior, and taking care of students' special needs (like sick students). Management entails decision-making on the allocation of a resource, in this case instructional time (Adjei, 2002).

In developing countries like Ghana, availability and utilization of instructional time remains a huge education challenge, especially when compared with what obtains in more advanced countries. For example, Ghana's 610 primary school contact hours fall considerably short of the world average of 880 hours (Lockheed & Verspoor, 1991). This means that Ghanaian teachers need to maximize the use of this reduced instructional time if Ghanaian schools are to be internationally competitive. But here, too, is a serious problem. Koomson, Akyeampong, and Fobih (1999) established in their survey of some 24 semi-urban and rural primary schools in Ghana that up to 50% of instructional time in those schools was not well managed. Sowah (2003) corroborated this when he observed that "misuse of teaching time by teachers is considered to be a major problem in

Ghanaian schools" (p. iv). When this reckoning is taken along with the fact that many students have a hard time engaging in academic activity outside school hours (Boakye, 2006), then we are dealing with a very alarming education issue.

Issues relating to allotted time and instructional time management can frustrate the efforts of serious-minded students and often account for students dropping out of school. Some Ghanaians see these inadequacies as justification for increasing the duration of the senior high school in Ghana from three years to four. Nevertheless, Sowah (2003) was right when he argued that "any increase in the number of years without removing or minimizing the internal inefficiencies through effective time management techniques will result in very little achievement" (p. 5). Even though the problem of poor time management is not the making of teachers alone, there is good reason to say, along with Sowah (2003), that some "teachers waste a lot of time and yet claim that the duration of the Senior Secondary School programme is too short" (p. 5). Education literature shows strong connections between deprived conditions and poor instructional time management, which, in turn, contributes to education disparity.

Kozol's (2005) study of these issues in the USA shed light on similar problems in Ghana. His book, *The Shame of the Nation*, addresses the problem of segregation in America's education system, a practice he describes as "apartheid," forbidden by law, but still in evidence. Colored and minority children (usually Blacks and Hispanics) find themselves in overwhelming majorities in deprived inner-city schools, while the dominant well-to-do whites attend better and more functional suburban schools.[20]

[20] This systematic marginalization of poor and minority children in segregated inner-city schools is what

Consequently, the poor and minority students generally receive a more impoverished version of education than the country gives to other students (Kozol, 2005). In white segregated schools, better and more experienced teachers form the teaching staff, and parents make financial contributions to supplement the school budget. These factors combine to enhance education delivery, especially in the way students are engaged during instructional time (Kozol, 2005).

Kozol's (2005) analysis raises interesting parallels with situations in Ghana. In the first place, the problem of poor time utilization is more serious in the deprived communities of Ghana outlined earlier in this chapter. This is due to family and school factors, both of which are unfavorable because of socioeconomic conditions. Also, valuable time is spent on so-called "continuous assessment," the Ghanaian teachers' and students' nightmarish equivalent of the USA standardized tests. These factors give sustenance to education stratification in Ghana. But other factors or disparities, as well, tend to restrict or even exclude some persons from education in the first place.

Disparities in Equity, Adequacy, Access, and Participation

The 1992 Constitution of Ghana stipulates that "the State shall, subject to the availability of resources, provide equal and balanced access to secondary education and other appropriate pre-university education, equal access to university or equivalent education, with emphasis on science and technology" (Republic of Ghana, 1992, Article

---

makes programs such as the 21st Century Community Learning Centers program necessary (Kozol, 2005). Another feature is that students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds often occupy more places in the lower echelons in the tracking system. Tracking is an education tier system in American secondary education. Hence, there seems to be some correlation between poverty and placement of students in this tier system.

38, 2, a). This noble objective has, however, been hampered by the very "availability of resources." As a developing country, Ghana faces severe fiscal limitations, making it necessary to downsize even in vital areas like education.

In the process, issues of equity, adequacy, access and participation arise. The debate among education researchers about whether money matters or not (Odden & Picus, 2008) is not a serious issue in Ghana. Money does matter for education in Ghana. There is no school in that country that could not use more money than currently available to it, for higher student achievement. So the issue of adequacy is real for the whole country—for rural and urban schools, for schools in Southern Ghana, as in Northern Ghana.

However, because of the inequities discussed above, there are bound to be differences in the levels of education need. The discussion earlier in this chapter has laid bare some situations of inequity that have a bearing on education in the country. Education equity requires that more effort be directed to these situations, even as the whole country labours under the burden of inadequate resources.

Later in this chapter, the negative effects of the 1987 education reform are scrutinized. A prominent effect of the reform was that it created deficits in education access and participation among the rural and poor communities, notably in Northern Ghana (Mongabay, 2009; Oti-Agyen et al., 2005). This effectively increased education stratification in the country. Hence, even though the reform achieved a general expansion in education country-wide, it deepened the levels of stratification. As Hannum and Buchman (2003) reveal, "substantial research indicates that education expansion does not

reduce the relative advantage of elite children over children from less-privileged backgrounds" (p. 10). Furthermore, in situations of education inequity, even reforms aimed at restoring equity often fail. This is because elite groups always manage to widen their education advantage (Halsey, Heath, & Ridge, 1980; Hannum & Buchman, 2003). That is why "it is not safe to assume that expansion in access to education will allow disadvantaged minorities to 'catch up' with initially advantaged ethnic groups, at least in the short run" (Hannum & Buchman, 2003, p. 11).

In their World Bank-initiated study on education access in Ghana, Chao and Alper (1998) found that, ten years after introducing the 1987 education reform, access is still hampered by certain factors, especially in poor areas, and in Northern Ghana:

> Enrollment rates are significantly lower in the Northern, Upper East and Upper West regions than in the other regions. The constraints to education access identified in previous studies still exist. They include distance to school, quality of school, parents' education background, religion, children's sex and access to water. There is a strong relationship between poverty and school enrolment. (p. 1)

The study results also showed that, even though there was a general significant increase in access to secondary education, existing socioeconomic and gender disparities were causes of access inequity. To deal with this problem the study recommended spending on cultural and other non-education interventions (Chao & Alper, 1998). The researchers were of the view that improving socioeconomic conditions in deprived areas was an effective way to reduce inequity and improve education access(Chao & Alper, 1998).

Equal performance is expected from students all over the country. That is how it should be. However, when disparities in equity, adequacy, access, and participation occur, grave injustice is caused. The resulting disparities in student outcomes would not

reflect the true capabilities of students. Student outcomes, usually measured by final grades, only give the erroneous impression that failing students from deprived areas are dumber than their counterparts in better served areas. Hence, the making of education stratification is imbedded in the various stratifications that occur in human society. This lengthy elaboration of the theoretical framework is further strengthened by empirical evidence.

Empirical Framework

Evidence of education stratification abounds in empirical studies in both Ghana and elsewhere. I will now review some of these studies as a way of investigating the occurrence of stratification. These studies include basic and secondary education studies, education reform studies, and studies on nonproductive schooling. Two related studies in the USA will also be examined. These are studies on extra classes or extended schooling, with a bearing on education stratification.

The following review looks at studies by various researchers in Ghana on basic and secondary education, education reform, and nonproductive schooling. Two studies have been selected from each category. These studies were chosen because they throw light on backgrounds that had the propensity to foster the practice of extra classes and also enhance education stratification.

Basic and Secondary Education Studies Conducted in Ghana

Accra Research Department, WAEC. (1993). The research department of WAEC conducted this study in order to assess the effectiveness and reliability of the internal or continuous assessment of Junior Secondary School (JSS) students, and to

examine how this assessment relates to the external assessment of JSS graduates. It also looked at the quotient of the internal assessment component in relation to external assessment, in determining the student's final grade (Accra Research Department, WAEC, 1993). The study involved schools sampled from all ten regions of the country. "Subjects were also sampled, using the purposive sampling procedure. For data collection, survey instruments were used. For analyses, correlation techniques were used" (Accra Research Department, WAEC, 1993, p. 1).

The data indicated that "the majority of schools demonstrated positive and significant inter-assessment correlation, although the correlational indices vary widely from school to school and from subject to subject" (Accra Research Department, WAEC, 1993, p. 1). High differentials in student performance per the two forms of assessment indicated disparity in the two assessment modes, as students scored lower marks in the external examinations than their own teachers tended to award them in internal (school-based) assessments (Accra Research Department, WAEC, 1993). Furthermore, the assessment instruments applied in all the schools lacked reliability and content validity (Accra Research Department, WAEC, 1993).

The study authors recommended better training of JSS teachers in assessment techniques; assisting teachers with "CRT and other assessment instruments for the various terms and forms of the JSS" (Accra Research Department, WAEC, 1993, p. 1); and more supervision by head teachers of the continuous assessment programme. The study was effective in streamlining the continuous assessment programme, which accounted for 40% of the final assessment of JSS graduates. Following the study, this

weighting was reduced to 30%. The study is also important for understanding schools' and teachers' roles in the clamor for paper qualifications in Ghana, even if such qualifications are not necessarily backed by appropriate knowledge.

RAINS Consultancy (1997). This study examined how the ethnic conflict that engulfed large areas of the Northern Region in 1994 affected basic and secondary education in the area. The researchers examined physical damage to schools, student enrollment and dropout rates, staffing, and remedial measures to restore normalcy to education in the affected areas. The study sampled collective views on the conflict, employing as methodology, surveys, interviews, and discussions with various communities (RAINS Consultancy, 19971). Not surprisingly, the findings were quite dismal:

> School infrastructure (building and furniture) was found to be in a very poor state in the schools visited. There was a general disappearance of teaching aids such as slates and blackboards. There was a general feeling of loss of community spirit which manifested itself in: Reluctance by most people who had fled their towns to return home….and lack of co-operation and community life due to mistrust and suspicion in places inhabited by opposing ethnic groups. A good number of teachers who were serving in the area had left and had not returned as a result of general insecurity. This worsened the already poor staffing situation in the area. Because of the massive destruction of property, accommodation became a serious problem to those teachers who were willing to return to their schools….School enrollment levels fell significantly in the area after the war with some areas declared as no-go areas for certain ethnic groups....Schools that remained intact during and after the war experienced great pressures from influx of displaced pupils from other areas….Quality of teaching suffered a severe blow because training programmes organized by GES for head-teachers and teachers could not be carried out in the area. Many children were out-of-school because their parents could no longer support them due to the loss of everything they owned, or because their parents had died. (RAINS Consultancy, 1997, p. 1)

In view of the dire situation unveiled by the findings, the researchers recommended immediate and priority intervention. "Recommendations for interventions

relate to school infrastructure, water supply, peace enhancement, counseling, career guidance and vocational training" (RAINS Consultancy, 1997, p. 1). This study is important for the current research because there have been conflicts in various parts of Northern Ghana both before and after the 1994 conflict. This means that the negative effects on education noted in the study are being replicated in the various affected areas.

Education Reform Studies

Avotri (1993). The first major education reform in Ghana was introduced in 1987. This reform replaced the grammar school system with a skills-driven one. To compare the effectiveness of the reform, Avotri (1993) did a comparative analysis of the secondary school curricula of the old system and the system introduced by the 1987 education reform. Two random samples were taken from Forms 2 and 4 students of the old system, and Forms 2 and 4 students of the new system. The general purpose of the study was "to find out the extent to which the objectives of the new curriculum were being realised" (Avotri, 1993, p. 3). Specifically, the study sought to establish whether the new system, with its integrated syllabus, was meeting its purported goal of bringing students to a more positive relationship with society and their environment than students in the old system. This study was conducted when the two systems ran concurrently, before the old system was completely replaced.

The students answered 32 Likert scale type questions, indicating their outlook on society and the environment. The results of the study were startling: "Contrary to expectation, students in the old curriculum had more positive attitudes to society and the environment" (Avotri, 1993, p. 5). The study contributes to the ongoing debate about the

merits of the 1987 education reform. From the findings, this study arrived at the conclusion that "the new education programme in Ghana is not achieving its desired goals" (Avotri, 1993, p. 8). However, more studies would be needed to strengthen the validity of this assertion. This is especially so because this particular study was carried out during the early years of the implementation of the reforms. In tracing the genesis of extra classes in Ghana, I investigated possible links of the practice with this education reform, with the help of data from interviews.

De Heer-Amissah et al. (Education Reform Review Committee) (1994). The committee did a nation-wide "review of the structure and content of education reforms implemented with effect from 1987" (p. 1) and proposed changes to help achieve the objectives of the reform. The method of data collection included mainly analysis of "memoranda, past reports, syllabuses and textbooks in Ghana…." (p. 1). The committee found many causes of falling education standards at the basic and secondary levels:

> Reasons for poor learning achievement under the reforms could be traced to the following, among others: poor quality teaching; excessive loss of instructional time arising from teacher and pupil absenteeism; overload in some of the syllabuses and related textbooks; inappropriate teaching methodology because of lack of sufficient, trained and qualified teachers for some subjects such as science, mathematics, and technical and vocational subjects; poor supervision in schools. The majority of primary school graduates are ill-prepared for JSS work and JSS pupils are ill-prepared for SSS education. (De Heer-Amissah et al., 1994, p. 1)

To help address these problems, the committee recommended the re-structuring of basic and secondary education. It proposed the addition of one more year to the duration of the Senior Secondary School, but suggested that "if the 3-year duration is maintained, those who cannot do the course in 3 years should be allowed to do a fourth year" (De

Heer-Amissah et al., 1994, p. 1). The committee also proposed a downsizing of the primary and Junior High School curriculum, and the reduction of core subjects in the Senior Secondary School curriculum to four. "However, each core subject should be restructured so that, together, they provide a basis for general education necessary for SSS students" (De Heer-Amissah et al., 1994, p. 1). This study revealed inadequacies in the education system introduced by the 1987 education reform, and adds to the understanding of the background of the proliferation of extra classes.

Studies on Nonproductive Schooling

Atakpa (1996). This was a UNICEF-sponsored research, under the auspices of the Ministry of Education of Ghana. The research was based on the northern part of Ghana. This is significant because Northern Ghana is the locus of the present study as well. Reiterating the obvious disparity in education delivery between Northern Ghana and Southern Ghana, Atakpa (1996) explored the reasons why there was a low level of girl-child enrollment and retention in Northern Ghana, as compared to the rest of the country, and in particular, in the Northern Region, as compared to the other two regions of Northern Ghana.

The study made use of both primary and secondary sources. Secondary sources included "available records in the National Archives, reports and official documents," while primary data was generated by interviewing "education policy decision makers, educationists, community leaders, parents, teachers, and students" (Atakpa, 1996, p. 5). The study found important reasons for low participation of girls in education in the Northern Ghana. Notable among them were poverty, and unproductive schooling. The

latter often led parents and the children themselves, to conclusions that schooling was a waste of time. The resulting high drop-out rate contributed to the north-south education stratification.

Ampiah (2004). Ampiah conducted his study on six basic level schools (primary and JSS/JHS) in the Central Region of Ghana. The study focused on quality education, with particular reference to proper teaching and learning practices, and the effective use of classroom time. The study objectives were stated as follows:

> 1. Investigate how basic schools in different contexts (rural, urban, public, private) provide quality education in the classroom. 2. Identify good practices that promote quality education in the classroom of basic schools. 3. Identify areas of weakness in classroom practice that may be contributing to unacceptable quality of education in basic schools. (Ampiah, 2004, p. 5)

The study presented thirteen "key findings" among which are some contributing factors to education stratification. For example, the study found that an excessive amount of time was given to the teaching of Math and English language, to the detriment of the other subjects. Ampiah also discovered that the supply and availability of textbooks was uneven in the schools. The private schools had a better supply of textbooks than public schools, in both urban and rural areas. Besides, most pupils in the private schools owned their textbooks, whilst in the public schools, the books belonged to the school (Ampiah, 2004). Considering the fact that hardly any private school operated in the rural areas, these findings revealed yet another disadvantage of rural schools. The concluding finding showed how Ghanaian schools in general are struggling with the problem of nonproductive schooling:

> A number of weaknesses were observed in all the schools. These include extensive use of the "chalk and talk" method of teaching; poorly written and

> unmarked teachers' lesson notes; low frequency in the use of TLMs to facilitate pupils' understanding of lessons; official school time-tables not being adhered to resulting in more time being given to some subjects than stipulated; and communication problems between teachers and pupils due to poor English language facility of pupils. (Ampiah, 2004, p. 23)

This shows that issues with instructional time management have a direct bearing on school productivity. When schools mismanage time and fail to cure the ills referred to in this study, they are bound to be left behind, and this contributes to the process of education stratification.

Studies on Extended Education in the USA

Concern for student success, and the need to eliminate education stratification have led to many studies in the USA on the issue of extra student engagement in its various forms (Dynarsky et al., 2004; Meehan et al., 2004; Metzker, 2003). Brewster and Railsback (2002) put together a review of literature that deals with this issue. Even though their focus was on the kindergarten level, the review is quite revealing in regard to extra instruction and other activities beyond the school day. The following is a review of two studies on extra efforts in the USA to help students succeed. The two are selected because they present opposing findings and throw light on both sides of the discussion on extra classes and other such extra education efforts.

National 21st Century Community Learning Centers Program. This study of Dynarski et al. (2004) is an evaluation of the extended school program at the national level. The U. S. Department of Education engaged two consultancy firms, Mathematica Policy Research, Inc., and Decision Information Resources, Inc., to carry out the study. Basically, it is an evaluation of the 21st Century Community Learning Centers program

set up by federal government in 1994 to improve education in the country. The purpose of this comprehensive study was primarily to establish the justification, or otherwise, for the federal government's spending on after-school programs, which had increased rapidly in recent years (Dynarski et al., 2004). In the first year of the research (2000-2001), data was collected from about 1,000 elementary school students randomly sampled from 18 schools in seven school districts, and 4,300 middle school students in 61 schools in 32 districts. In the second year (2001-2002) even higher numbers were sampled. Questionnaires were administered to these students, as well as parents, teachers, principals, and staff members of the program. Site visits, school records, records of program attendance, and reading tests were other sources of data.

The study involved comparing the performance of students in the program with that of students not in the program. If the purpose of the program was increased academic achievement, the program fell short of the mark, as the findings revealed: "Students attending after-school programs scored no better on reading tests than their peers who did not participate; nor did their grades in English, mathematics, science, and social studies increase…" (Dynarski et al., 2004, p. xix). This study seems to challenge the assumption that extended instruction is necessarily a good thing for scholastic achievement. Metzker (2003) concurred with this view when he said that "in schools where time is not being used well, it is unlikely that the addition of more days to the school calendar will lead to higher academic achievement by students" (p. 2).

Kentucky Extended School Services (ESS) Program. This study by Meehan et al. (2004) appraised a ten-year Extended School Services (ESS) program in the state of

Kentucky. Working for the Appalachia Education Laboratory (AEL), a research group contracted by the Kentucky Department of Education, in partnership with Western Kentucky University (WKU), the study encompasses a comprehensive look at the ESS program in an attempt to determine whether extended schooling is actually providing academic support to students at risk and addressing factors that engender student failure (Meehan et al., 2004).

The study involved surveys and visits, a training session for data collectors, and analyses of the data. Trained data collectors visited 24 schools in pairs and collected qualitative and quantitative data through interviews, observations, surveys, and written documentation. The results showed a remarkable increase in academic performance, according to teachers, parents, district and school coordinators of the program, and students themselves. This shows the other side of the discussion, namely, that extra classes and extracurricular activities could be helpful against education stratification. It is worth noting that where a national initiative seemed to fail a similar one in an individual state produced positive results. What does this say about national policies like the Ghana education policy on extra classes?

Resume of Theoretical and Empirical Frameworks

The following are the main issues arising from the foregoing conceptual and empirical literature review. Notable disparities exist in the Ghanaian society, and these contribute immensely to education stratification. They include socioeconomic, rural-urban, gender, and north-south disparities. These disparities, especially the north-south

inequity, have deep roots in policies of the British colonial era, and have not been adequately addressed in post-colonial Ghana.

While these disparities are the primary contributors to education stratification, macro-structural factors, as well as school and family factors are also important enhancers of education stratification. Their contribution derives from the fact that they tend to foster inequality, making some members of the Ghanaian society more vulnerable and disadvantaged in respect to their fellow nationals. Disparities in levels of accountability and instructional time management are other notable determinants of education stratification. The causality of education stratification is, therefore, hydra-headed, making its eradication all the more challenging.

Selected education studies conducted in Ghana and in the USA have given empirical backing to the conceptual framework of education stratification. The selected Ghana studies shed light on the existence and the phenomenon of education stratification in Ghana, even if they did not use the exact same term to describe the problem. The selected studies on secondary education, education reform, and nonproductive schooling highlighted the problem of education stratification. The theoretical and empirical frameworks of education stratification provide a suitable lens with which to examine the concept of extra classes.

The Concept of Extra Classes

Extra Classes in General

The notion of extra classes falls within a whole gamut of concepts to which the literature gave different appellations, including extra tuition, extended school day,

extended school services, enrichment programs, or extension education. The main drive behind these extra efforts was the attainment of education goals, as each school or education system perceived them. There is a divergence of understanding of the concept of extra, as the following review indicated. This study, however, focused on the issue of extra classes as understood and practiced in Ghana.

Correspondence of Extra Classes in the USA

Extra classes as academic remedy and enrichment. The literature revealed that the practice of extra classes in the USA, in its various forms and appellations functions mainly as remedial and enrichment measures. Meehan et al. (2004) discovered that "most students were referred to the program because they were in danger of failing and needed to improve their academic performance" (p. 15). Dynarski et al. (2004) adduced a similar raison d'être for the 21st Century Community Learning Centers program. The LAUSD (2008) reported that extra classes or tutoring is available to students on a daily basis, at Sylmar High School. Students are grouped into small learning communities for peer tutoring as well as academic tutoring programs. Also the school runs a credit recovery program to enable students make up credits they failed to acquire in the school day or school year.[21] All these extra efforts are remedial in nature, and never intended to replace or interfere with the ordinary approach to schooling.

Child welfare and supervision. Although the primary aim of the extended school day is the improvement of academic performance, it may also include extracurricular programs. Such programs are being increasingly employed in the United States for

[21] At-risk students at Sylmar High School are usually identified and counseled early in their high school program. Remedial courses are then made available to them (LAUSD, 2008).

various reasons, like keeping children out of trouble and away from harmful engagements; relieving working parents of the task of taking care of their children during working hours; and keeping children safe and supervised. This is especially the case for kindergarten programs (Brewster & Railsback, 2002; Zakaluk & Straw, 2002), and demand has been expanded by increasing numbers of working mothers (Boss, 2002; Dynarsky et al.).

Extra Classes in Ghana

Extra classes have acquired a bad name in Ghana. This is due especially to commercialization of this education engagement (Quianoo, 1995). Hence, many teachers prefer the designation "remedial classes." Nonetheless, extra classes have sunk deep roots in the Ghanaian education system and have found support among some educators and other stakeholders as a recommendable route to education success (Quianoo, 1995). In general, the purport of extra classes and extended school programs is therapeutic, aimed at helping students at risk of academic failure (Boss, 2002; Dynarsky et al., 2004; Meehan et al., 2004; Metzker, 2003). In Ghana, however, extra classes have come to be regarded more as the rule than the exception, especially in the senior high schools. This unhealthy development will be examined more closely in Chapters Four and Five.

The provenance of extra classes unto the Ghanaian education scene are scrutinized in Chapters Four and Five. Among other causes, other researchers (Adjei, 2003; Sowah, 2003) have linked the origins of the present spate and caliber of extra classes to the 1987 education reform. There was a public outcry after the mass failure in the 1993 Senior Secondary School Certificate Examination West African (SSSCE) of the

West African Examinations Council (WAEC). In response, Government set up the Education Reform Review Committee (ERRC) to study the situation, even though the strong belief by Government was held that teachers were mainly to blame for the disaster (Adjei, 2003). The ERRC's recommendations included extending the duration of the SSS to four years, reducing the number of subjects taught at the JSS and SSS, and ensuring greater continuity between the JSS and SSS (Adjei, 2003). In the meantime, stakeholders went in frantic search of other solutions, one of which turned out to be extra classes (Adjei, 2003; Sowah, 2003).

Legal Extra Classes

The policy on extra classes outlawed some classes while permitting others. As reviewed earlier in this chapter, the first policy statement (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995a) banned all types of extra classes then operating in Ghana. Subsequently, remedial and vacation classes were taken off the list of banned extra classes (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995b). For any other extra class to be legal, it needed to be initiated or sanctioned by the school's administration (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995c). These classes may take the form of an extended school day, or special extra teaching arrangements for at-risk students.

Remedial classes. Remedial classes are a form of supplementary teaching. With permission from competent school authority, and provided no extra charges are imposed on individual students, a subject teacher may organize extra teaching for slow learners or students who may have genuine problems with the subject. Such supplementary teaching helps students at-risk to catch up with their colleagues. Remedial classes may also be

organized for students who have already graduated, but need to re-sit the exams to improve their performance. If extra fees are charged, they must first be approved by the office of the Director-General of the GES (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995b).

Vacation classes. Vacation classes are common in Ghana. They are a form of extra classes organized for students during the time of their break from school. Vacation classes often target senior high school students, especially those preparing for the SHSCE. Subject teachers from different schools regularly team up to organize these classes. Students are usually informed of the offer of extra classes, and the location, by means of radio announcements. Often, the announcements are spiced up with the information that special classes offered by a particular group are taught by experienced examiners, and that students who patronize those particular extra classes have been known to pass their exams with flying colors. These radio commercials notwithstanding, students and parents also shop around for those extra classes that are known to have helped other students to pass their exams. Some schools also organize vacation classes, popularly called "stay-back," for their own students, especially those preparing for exit exams.

Private extra classes. Private classes are another form of extra classes. These classes are usually held in private homes. By arrangement with parents, a subject teacher agrees to give extra tuition to a student. This teaching can take place after school or during vacation time. Remuneration is based on the amount of time spent with the student, or a flat rate per subject. Teachers have been known to arrange private extra classes for their regular students, in their official residences. This practice, however,

remains outlawed (Ministry of Education/ GES, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c; Quianoo, 1995). Private extra classes often attract charges, but are not necessarily illegal, especially if conducted during school vacation periods, or if they are free. This is what makes it a rather tricky issue. Teachers could argue, as indeed some have done, that they are free to use their out-of-school time any way they choose, including teaching students who are willing to pay for the service.

Illegal Extra Classes

According to the second and subsequent policy statements, the only extra classes regarded as illegal are those "organised by individual teachers or groups of teachers for students in school premises for which fees are charged" [as well as those] "organised in teachers' bungalows….since they disrupt extracurricular activities and undermine school discipline" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995b, p. 2). Hence, illegal extra classes are those classes initiated by teachers on school campuses, or in their residences, outside or even during regular contact hours, for which individual students are charged. Such classes do not have the authorization or sanction of school or education authorities (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995a; 1995b; 1995c). However, those behind the practice of illegal extra classes have their own perspectives on the matter, as they point to certain realities in the Ghana education system for justification of the practice. These perspectives are scrutinized in Chapter Five, but they point to an entrenched position that the policy on extra classes needed to address.

The Policy on Extra Classes

The foregoing background provides the perspective from which to appraise the Ghana Ministry of Education-GES policy on extra classes. Cooper et al. (2004) indicated that it is not easy to define policy, due to the disparate approaches to this relatively new field of study. Fowler's (2000) definition of policy seems appropriate, at least for the purpose of this study: "Public policy is the dynamic and value-laden process through which a political system handles a public problem. It includes a government's expressed intentions and official enactments as well as its consistent patterns of activity and inactivity" (p. 9). The public problem here came to the notice of the government (Ministry of Education) by way of a public outcry.

Public Outcry about Extra Classes

Even before the stamp of illegality was put on the practice of extra classes in Ghana, loud and extensive calls for government intervention were heard. These calls continued to be heard even after the ban. This is because the practice did not cease as expected, and because it created certain difficulties and distortions in the education system (Quianoo, 1995). The persistence of the practice even after the ban saddled policy implementers with a very huge task (GhanaNewsToday, 2005). They called out to recalcitrant teachers to halt the practice. (Soulhour, 2005). Apart from education leaders, parents and other concerned citizens raised their voices in protest against the practice.

These outcries notwithstanding, the practice continued unabated, and even gathered momentum (EduNet Forum, 2004). This made Ghanaians to give it the same appellation they use to describe the intractable illegal surface gold mining going on in

certain parts of the country—"galamsey." The practice also drew the attention of the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) which served notice that "income earned by teachers in both private and public schools from extra classes is liable to taxation" (GNA, 2008, p. 1). Obviously, this source of extra revenue for teachers had become too significant to escape notice.

Policy Statement

In light of the public outcry against extra classes, the ban on these classes by Government, through the Ministry of Education and the Ghana Education Service, came as no surprise to many. The policy on extra classes was presented in three separate policy documents, and one formal press statement. Thereafter, Ministers of Education and Directors-General of the Ghana Education Service had occasion to further explain or defend the policy position.

Ministry of Education-GES (1995a). The first policy statement was in the form of a circular signed by the Deputy Director-General of the GES to all regional and district directors of education in the country, and copied to the Minister of Education, the Deputy Minister of Education, the Chief Director of the Ministry of Education, all Headquarters Directors and Coordinators, as well as the Public Relations Officer of the GES (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995a). Issued on January 16, 1995, this statement mentioned three forms of extra classes, namely, "vacation classes, remedial classes and special classes in Public Schools" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995a, p. 1). It then went on to state the banning order: "The Minister for Education has directed that with immediate effect no

extra classes should be organised in any public schools or public buildings including staff bungalows" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995a, p. 1).

The statement directed District Directors of Education to communicate the order to "Heads of Basic and Senior Secondary Schools within their respective Districts for compliance" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995a, p. 1). It also reminded heads of these institutions "of their responsibilities….to ensure that school time is fully utilised in strict pursuance of the school time; to regularly inspect teachers' notes, class assignments, students'/pupils' assessment records and to generally supervise classroom teaching" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995a, p. 1). These directives and reminders indicated the Ministry's diagnosis of the malaise behind the practice of extra classes, viz., inadequate supervision, leading to improper application of school time.

Ministry of Education-GES (1995b). It did not take long before the need was felt to supplement this one-page initial statement. On April 4, 1995, the Minister for Education issued a press release in "review of [the] ban on extra classes" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995b, p. 1). This press release, distributed to the various print and electronic media, was "a result of public debate generated by the ban and the general opinion that the organisation of certain categories of extra classes be maintained and regulated" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995b, p. 2). The reaction to the blanket ban on extra classes was fierce and reasonable, and the Ministry made concessions.

The ban was lifted on two of the three types of extra classes mentioned in the first policy statement. Remedial classes were permitted, but school heads were required to involve Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs) in organising them. Vacation classes could

also go ahead with the written approval of District Directors, and fees approved by the GES, if fees were charged. The GES was charged with fashioning detailed guidelines to regulate remedial or vacation classes (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995b).

While stepping back from a complete ban on extra classes, the Ministry maintained a firm prohibition on one form of extra classes:

> It should be emphasised that Extra Classes organised by individual teachers or groups of teachers for students in school premises for which fees are charged remain banned. Classes organised in teachers' bungalows are not allowed since they disrupt extracurricular activities and undermine school discipline. (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995b, p. 2)

Ministry of Education-GES, 1995c. In less than four months after the press release, the office of the Director-General of GES issued another circular titled "Monitoring of the ban on extra classes," and dated 27th July, 1995. The circular was signed by Mr. Alex Tetey-Enyo, as Acting Deputy Director-General. Significantly, Mr. Tettey-Enyo is the current Minister of Education in the Professor Mills administration, which took office in January 2009. With one of its chief architects back at the helm of education affairs, it is no big marvel that the policy is receiving a fresh push.[22]

The said circular was distributed to all District Directors, and copied to all Regional Directors, the Director of Basic Education, the Director of Secondary Education, and the Chief Director of the Ministry of Education. This circular announced

[22] The National Democratic Congress (NDC), which was in power when the policy on extra classes was introduced, lost power in 2000 to the New Patriotic Party (NPP). Hence, the policy initiators had five years (1995-2000) to try to enforce the policy. It would seem that the policy was not pursued with nearly as much vigor under the NPP as under the NDC.

that detailed guidelines for remedial and vacation classes had been issued. It then reiterated the ban:

> Your attention is being drawn to the directives that Extra Classes organised by individual teachers or groups of teachers for students in school premises for which fees are charged remain banned and, more importantly, bodies in and outside the school are not allowed to organise fee-paying classes for students in public buildings and institutions. (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995c, p. 1)

It would seem that the need to re-state and re-emphasise the ban was created by compliance failures.

This impression suggested itself in the remainder of the circular which reminded the addressees (District Directors) of "the need to monitor the implementation of government policy regarding 'Extra Classes'" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995c, p. 1). In further pursuit of compliance, the circular requested quarterly reports on the issue. These reports were to "indicate schools which applied for permission during the period, the type of classes, number of students and teachers involved, list of subjects involved, remuneration for teachers (if any) and any other charges" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995c, p. 1). The circular found it necessary to add: "Please treat this as very urgent" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995c, p. 1).

Another significant indicator that the policy may have faced compliance issues emerged during field work. In a six-week literature search in Ghana, in May-June, 2009, I went to the Ministry of Education offices, various offices of the GES Headquarters in Accra, a few Regional and District Education offices, and some senior high schools. At all these places, I enquired about the policy documents, and made diligent search for them. Everyone I met was patient and polite, but no one could help me with even one

copy of the documents. While some officials claimed to have heard of the documents, others seemed to be unaware of their existence. I returned to the USA despondent and without the policy texts. It required days of assiduous search in the archives of a district education office, by a combined team of my nephews and nieces, to unearth the required documents. It was a relief to get the documents, but the process to get them has its own story to tell. It was as if the policy was no longer in force, and had been quietly forgotten.

Press statement: Explanation of purport. Prior to the issue of the first policy statement, the then Minister of Education, Mr. Harry Sawyer, held a press conference to explain the policy and the reasons behind it. This press conference, held on January 11th, 1995, and captured in the 12th January, 1995 issue of the *Daily Graphic*, is extremely important for understanding the policy and what it sought to achieve. Several key issues were raised in the press conference. The Minister made reference to "the growing outcry against this practice" (Quianoo, 1995, p. 1). Government intervention was being justified as a response to public outcry against an anomaly. The outcry was not only significant enough to draw government attention, it was also growing.

The outcry which led to the ban, according to the Minister, was against the following anomalies: shifting of regular classes to extra classes; lost commitment of teachers to their regular duties, leading to their inability to finish the syllabi; exam malpractices linked to extra classes; and commercialization of education, due to the high fees charged for extra classes (Quianoo, 1995).

The Minister described the whole situation as blackmail. He lamented that "the growing outcry against this practice where teachers shift actual teaching to private

classes, has deepened the blackmail tendencies by some teachers" (Quianoo, 1995, p. 1). Part of this blackmail was manifested in the methods some teachers applied to coerce patronage of their extra classes. Besides, these extra classes were not given as a remedial measure, to only at-risk students, but sought to suck in all students so as to enhance the monetary potential (Editorial, 2008; Quianoo, 1995).

The impression created by the Minister was that the practice of extra classes was becoming so widespread that it was threatening to hold the whole education system at ransom. The Education Ministry and GES seemed unable to adequately deal with the problem. Hence, the Minister made a broad appeal for help: "The Minister….has therefore requested District Assemblies, religious organizations, Parliament, and opinion leaders to take active interest in the running of schools in their areas, and to report any school or teacher who flouts the directive" (Quianoo, 1995, p. 1).

Ironically, the people were also looking to Government to get them out of the quandary. Nearly eight years after the Minister's appeal, the chiefs and parents of a traditional area in Ghana "appealed to the Minister of Education Youth and Sports and the Director-General of Ghana Education Service to save parents from exploitation by teachers under the pretext of organising extra classes" (GNA, 2003, September 18). They expressed concern about the practice, and charged that "teachers regard extra classes as a 'gold mine' and give preference to it [sic] than their normal working hours, adding that, apart from additional financial burden on parents, extra classes over-stretch the brains of the children" (GNA, 2003, p. 1). Are these complaints justified? Is the policy on extra

classes itself defensible? Maybe a review of some aspects of the policy process will prove helpful in addressing these concerns.

The Process of Policy Formulation and Implementation

Cooper et al. (2004) presented a detailed and insightful elaboration of the policy process, as it applies in education research. This process includes the genesis or birthing of policy; the implementation of the policy; and evaluation of the policy, with an openness to its revision or reformulation. These are not distinct and unrelated phases, but often overlap and interact in a dynamic fashion (Cooper et al., 2004). Policy formulation itself combines three interrelated aspects, namely, problem definition, agenda setting, and policy formulation (Cooper et al., 2004).

Problem Definition

Political scientists have asserted that a good policy must be clear and specific. "If goals are clear, laws well-written, and authority is carefully spelled out at the macro-level, it is more likely that the policy will be understood and implemented" (Cooper et al., 2004, p. 114). Problem definition is fundamental to attaining policy clarity. Scholars are agreed that problem definition is vital to the policy process (Cooper et al., 2004; Dye, 1992; Fowler, 2000). When a problem is well defined, it becomes more visible in the public domain, and cannot be ignored by policy makers (Fowler, 2000). However, even before an issue gets defined, it needs help to make it noticeable, through an agenda setting process.

Agenda setting. Agenda setting is closely related to problem definition. Agenda setting is a dynamic political process of drawing policy makers' attention to a problem in

a compelling and actionable manner (Cooper et al., 2004; Peters, 1986). Agenda setting is easier with issues that are more keenly felt by people (Peters, 1986), especially if they are people who matter more in society. Issues that arise as unintended consequences or spillovers of previous policies or programs are also easily picked up by lobbyists and the public agenda (Cooper et al., 2004). The issue of extra classes appears to be one of those keenly felt issues in the Ghanaian society, and is examined in relation to previous policies, such as the 1987 education reform, for possible spillover effects.

Analogous agenda setting. Important also to the problem definition process is analogous agenda setting. "Analogous agenda setting occurs when new issues are framed within the context of an earlier policy referent" (Cooper et al., 2004, p. 66). The trick is to make a new issue look like an old one (Cooper et al., 2004; Peters, 1986). The precursors of the policy on extra classes, examined in Chapter Two, contain linkages between this policy and others before it. The data showed particular relation between the Ghana 1987 education reform and the formulation of the extra classes policy, and its implementation as well.

Policy Implementation

Policy implementation is a relatively new subfield of study, and is sometimes overlooked. However, it is an important aspect of the policy process (Cooper et al., 2004). "Essentially, implementation is what happens when a policy is (or is not) carried out" (Cooper et al., 2004, p. 84, referencing Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1981). Crafting a good policy is only part of the effort to address issues. Policies need to be implemented if they are to achieve their purpose. This is because "Policies, like laws, are neither self-

explanatory nor self-executing" (Cooper et al., 2004, p. 83). It would therefore be a mistake for policymakers to "assume that the goals and objectives of a policy are known to everyone, and that everyone involved in implementing policy understands their roles and responsibilities, and that implementation is simply a question of carrying out administrative mandates" (Cooper et al., 2004, p. 88).

It is fitting to note that the kind of politicking that characterized the policy formulation and adoption stage follows into the implementation phase. A policy will always have its supporters and its opponents, who continue to apply pressure in pursuance of their interests. Hence, "politics and policy conflict do not end after a bill becomes law or after a policy is created. Rather, the conflict enters a new phase—the implementation phase" (Cooper et al., 2004, p. 85). This gives rise to real obstacles that can bear down heavily on policy implementation.

Obstacles to policy implementation. Odden (1991) identified two major obstacles to policy implementation, namely, lack of will to implement, and lack of capacity to implement. Enforcement agencies often lack the mechanisms and the legal resources that would make them effective (Baum, as cited in Cooper et al., 2004; see also Larson, 1980; Madsen, 1994). This often leads to discouragement and dwindling of will power to pursue enforcement.

In a complex and non-homogeneous situation, policy implementation is rendered even more difficult and complicated. Cooper et al. (2004), drawing on studies on the American education system, illustrated the problem: schools are very different and the education system multi-layered; policy is not implemented evenly; some schools violate

rules with impunity; infrequent, little or no inspection or evaluation of teachers' and administrators' work. Such "structural looseness of education…poses significant challenges to efforts to implement successfully school reform (or any policy for that matter)" (Cooper et al., 2004, p. 87). The data are examined to see how these issues apply in the highly stratified Ghanaian situation. When such concerns are not reckoned with, the already difficult process of policy implementation may meet with failure. It is for these reasons that the peculiarities of Northern Ghana need to be reckoned with, vis-à-vis the policy on extra classes.

As cited in Cooper et al. (2004), Browne and Wildavsky (1984), and Peters (1986) presented other obstacles that could obstruct policy implementation: "(1) lack of clarity and specificity in legislation, (2) lack of understanding of the actual problem the policy is designed to ameliorate, (3) multiple, often conflicting goals,…(5) lack of coordination,…. (8) inadequate (often poor) planning" (p. 90). Implementation may also be hampered "when various actors are not fully committed to implementing the policy" (Cooper et al., 2004, p. 90) or only appearing to be committed when, in fact, they are not. This may happen when policy implementers do not favor the policy, or when they doubt the prospects of the policy's success (Bardach, 1977; Cooper et al., 2004). [23] The following data revealed that, among other things, Ghana's policy on extra classes had to contend with such challenges. A review of some precursors of the extra policy will help toward a better understanding of the policy.

[23] Bardach (1977, p. 98) calls it "tokenism," a practice by which participants "appear to be contributing a program element publicly while privately conceding only a small ('token') contribution" (cited in Cooper et al., 2004, p. 90).

Precursors of the Extra Classes Policy

The policy on extra classes was purported to remove threats to good quality and equitable education, an objective thwarted by the practice of extra classes (Quianoo, 1995). The policy sought to do this by safeguarding the proper use of instructional time, examination sanity and fairness, equity and justice for rich and poor students alike, and the welfare and success of all students (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c; Quianoo, 1995). With regard to these goals and principles, the extra classes policy was not without precedent. The following four past education policies are presented to illustrate the background and tradition into which the policy on extra classes inserted itself.

The Accelerated Education Development Plan of 1951

On the threshold of independence, and after attaining independence, Ghana saw the need for rapid education expansion. Two interventions implemented to enhance education access were the Accelerated Development Plan for Education of 1951, and the Education Act of 1961 (Graham, 1976; Opare, 1999). Dr. Kwame who headed a trial government, and who was to become the first president of Ghana, saw the need for an educated populace if social construction and socioeconomic development were to happen quickly in the young nation he was to lead. This made him to initiate the 1951-1957 Accelerated Development Plan for Education, to be followed by the Education Act of 1961.

The 1951 Plan was broad and ambitious in its push to bring formal education to as many people as possible in the shortest time possible. I will not explore all the features of

the Plan. The aspect in the Plan that is of interest here, is the rapid expansion of education institutions, and the enrollment of record numbers in these institutions (Oti-Agyen et al., 2005). In this, the Plan bears resemblance to the 1987 education reform, and the two produced similar outcomes.

Between 1951 and 1957, the country witnessed a rapid expansion of secondary education. There was a sharp increase in the number of secondary schools, "from 12 to 38 and by February 1958 there were 10,423 students in secondary schools" (Oti-Agyen et al., 2005, p. 76). The Plan made other important contributions to the development of the human resource base of the country, and laid strong foundations for education development by expanding teacher training and university education. However, laudable as it was, the speedy expansion of education came with some compromises. The main compromise was education quality. Oti-Agyen et al. (2005) report that "many schools were opened with *ad hoc* facilities and temporary accommodation pressed into use as classrooms thereby creating congestion" (p. 77).

Besides, supply of trained teachers could not meet the extra demand created by this expansion. The resultant need to employ untrained teachers, arguably, further contributed to a drop in education quality (Oti-Agyen et al., 2005). In a similar way, the 1987 education reform was widely believed to be a good education initiative whose fruits were compromised by hasty and inadequate preparation. As will be argued later, this initiative was to provide suitable breeding grounds for the flourishing of extra classes.

The Education Act of 1961

The 1961 Education Act was an act of parliament meant to "address the problems that emanated from the implementation of the Accelerated Development Plan of 1951, and to further give it a legal backing" (Oti-Agyen et al., 2005), since the country had by then gained independence and gained republican status. As such the 1961 Act reviewed some of the provisions of the 1951 Act, re-emphasised others, and introduced new ones. A point of interest for this study is the sweeping powers conferred on the Minister of Education. The Minister was empowered to make regulations for pre-tertiary education that had the force of law.

The Act contains a long list of issues on which the Minister could exercise this power, among them "the organisation, staffing and inspection of institutions and the curriculum and instruction to be given in those institutions" (Government of Ghana, 1961, Section 31, b) and "the fees chargeable in public institutions, the collection, use and disposal of those fees" (Government of Ghana, 1961, Section 31, d). Insofar as I know, this legal empowerment has not been revoked. The policy on extra classes, as an act of the Minister and the Ministry of Education, in conjunction with the Ghana Education Service, therefore, has the full backing of the law. It is a matter of surprise and concern, therefore, that its implementation seems to be bereft of this power (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995c; Quianoo, 1995).

Two other provisions are of interest to the discussion on extra classes. The first has to do with payment of fees. The Act provides as follows: "A fee other than the prescribed fees, shall not be charged in respect of the education or residence of a pupil or

student at a public secondary school or at a public training college" (Government of Ghana, 1961, Section 21, [2]). Even "the amount, and the payment, of fees in a private institution" (Government of Ghana, 1961, Section 21, [3]) was under the control of the Minister, upon recommendations by a committee appointed by him/her. Contravention of the provisions attracted sanctions: "A person who contravenes a provision of this section commits an offence and is liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding fifty penalty units" (Government of Ghana, 1961, Section 21, [4]). The other provision concerned free basic education. The 1961 Act maintained the 1951 policy of free and compulsory primary and middle school education, a policy now enshrined in the Constitution.

The Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) Programme

FCUBE is the acronym for Free Compulsory and Universal Basic Education. It is a program mandated by the Ghana Constitution itself, aimed at providing quality basic education to all children in Ghana, by the year 2005 (Ministry of Education, 1996). Chapter 6, section 38, sub-section 2, of the 1992 Constitution stated: *"*The Government shall, within two years after Parliament first meets after the coming into force of this Constitution, draw up a programme for implementation within the following ten years, for the provision of free, compulsory and universal basic education." Hence, the name of the program derived from the wording in the Constitution itself. The 10 years mandated for the implementation of FCUBE were from the beginning of 1995 to the end of 2004.

FCUBE was not just a constitutional requirement. It was part of the requirement of Ghana's "participation in and endorsement of international agreements such as

Education for All, the Declaration on the Rights of the Child, the Beijing Declaration on Women's Rights, the Lomé Convention, etc." (Mettle-Nunoo & Hilditch, 2000, p. 4). These declarations had the objective of protecting and ensuring especially children's and women's rights. The policy statements on extra classes reviewed above (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c) indicated that similar principles undergirded both the FCUBE program and the extra classes policy. Government also used the FCUBE program to reinforce the ongoing 1987 education reform, especially at the basic level, and to provide a frame for attainment of efficient and high quality education delivery (Ministry of Education, Science, and Sports, 2007).

The 1987 Education Reform

The 1987 education reform was by far the most consequential education policy, insofar as the practice and policy of extra classes are concerned. In 1976, Ghana embarked on an education experiment, preparatory to introducing education reform. After some ten years of experimentation, the new system of education became operational nationwide, in 1987 (Avotri, 1993). Ghanaians were asked to expect big gains from the new system of educating their children. However, in spite of much trumpeting about the expected benefits, many Ghanaians remained skeptical. Their skepticism was not unfounded, as succeeding years would show.

The reform was a phased replacement of the British-based Ordinary Level ("O" Level) and Advanced Level ("A" Level) school system with a restructured system. It was a drastic departure from the grammar school system to a more skills-driven one purported to better serve the economic and developmental needs of the country, and make her more

ready to face the inexorable demands of globalization. Among the objectives of the reform were the following:

- Reduce the duration of pre-university education from 17 to 12 years, comprising 6 years primary, 3 years of junior secondary school, and 3 years of senior secondary school.
- Increase instructional time at pre-university level by increasing the school year from 35 weeks to 40 weeks.
- Increase education access, especially in Northern Ghana and other parts of the country with persistently low education access.
- Apply new methods of assessment.
- Reduce government expenditure on education.

The 17 or 15 years under the old system consisted of six years elementary school, two or four years of middle school (depending on how soon a student was able to pass the "common entrance exam" to go to secondary school), five years of Ordinary Level ("O" Level) secondary school, and two years of Advanced Level ("A" Level) secondary school. Under the new system, the student would spend 12 years in school before advancing to a tertiary institution. The radical nature of the reform was a challenge to teachers too. According to Sowah (2003) "teachers found themselves in a situation where instead of handling their students for seven years, they had only three years to prepare their students for their final examination for entry to the University" (p. 2).

Other negative consequences were noticeable. The reform imposed extra demands on teachers. Increased enrollment and the lengthening of the school year added to the

burden on teachers. Teachers were also required to give and correct more exercises. Since teacher remuneration did not keep pace with these extra demands on teachers, teacher dissatisfaction increased. Some resorted to diverse ways of covert compensation. The practice of extra classes was one of these ways. Other consequences of the reform included cutting down on sports and other activities in schools bent on maintaining their academic standards. On the other hand, schools without academic promise tried to make a name for themselves through sports (Sowah, 2003). In several notable ways, therefore, the 1987 education reform was comparable to the 1951 Accelerated Development Plan for Education.

Assessment of the 1987 education reform. The 1987 reform was quite radical, and aroused much alarm and misgivings among Ghanaians. Many believed that the country should not have gone down that road of education reform. They believed that the reform did not portend much benefit for education standards in Ghana. The Government of Ghana underrated the magnitude of resistance that often accompanies school reform of such magnitude (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, 2004). The resistance or feelings of concern of the Ghanaian people were not given free scope for expression, as divergent or opposing views of the reform received scant indulgence and tolerance.

However, after 20 years of implementation, the government of the day (the NPP Government, under President John Agyekum Kuffuor, 2001-2008) admitted to the failure of that particular education initiative:

> The consensus among government, education professionals, parents and employers is that the innovation of a three-year JSS system to cap a six-year primary education course has failed to deliver its promise of comprehensively equipping the youth of that age bracket with directly employable skills for the

> world of work. At the same time, while chasing after those unrealistic goals in technical and vocational skills, the JSS system has failed to do more to strengthen the basic skills of Ghanaian youth in numeracy and literacy (including cyber literacy). (Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports, 2004, p. 5).[24]

Another sad offshoot of the 1987 education reform was the high attrition rate between primary school and Junior Secondary School (JSS), and even higher rates between JSS and Senior Secondary School (SSS) (Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports, 2004). Many students despaired under the unrealistic burdens and demands of what turned out to be a rushed and inadequately resourced education reform. Those students who made it to the Senior Secondary School found themselves face to face with academic challenges for which their previous schooling had ill prepared them. Furthermore, the practice of extra classes, in both its legal and illegal forms, has its genesis in this scenario of failed education reform. In light of these, and other issues, the time was ripe for another reform.

This was to be the 2007 education reform, which took off in September 2007. This reform was really a modification of the 1987 reform and applied a slightly different nomenclature, replacing "secondary school" with "high school." This reform added three extra years of schooling, made up of two years of kindergarten, and one additional year of senior secondary school, now senior high school (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, 2004). The senior high school (ages 16-19 years) was envisaged by this latest

[24] The Ministry's indictment of the failed experiment was made abundantly clear when it further stated: "With the nation-wide implementation of the Junior Secondary School (JSS) concept since the latest reforms began in 1987, the country has faced the spectre of a large number of late teen-age school leavers the majority of whom are deficient in basic numeracy and literacy skills, and therefore ill-prepared for either formal second cycle education of good standard, or for a life of work and continuous learning self-improvement" (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, 2004, p. 5).

reform "both as terminal education for entry into the world of work, and as a preparatory stage for entry into tertiary education" (Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports, 2004, p. 21).

The vision of this reform was that junior high school graduates would be better equipped than their counterparts in the preceding education system, especially in the use of the English language. This would enable the next level of schooling to "concentrate on enrichment of communication skills in English, rather than spending so much study time in the remedying of basic deficiencies" from previous education levels (Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports, 2004, p. 30). The year 2015 was set as the target date for the full implementation of the reform. It was hoped that, by then, there would have been enough professional teachers trained and well motivated to make the goals of the reform achievable.

The 1987 reform's contribution to education stratification. The 1987 education reform was purported to address Ghana's education, social, and economic challenges. Ghanaians who opposed the reform, however, had their doubts. They decried the lack of workshops, additional classrooms, and other infrastructure necessary for the proper implementation of the reform programs. Moreover, the reform was conceived as a community-sponsored program, and this came with extra demands on parents and guardians to undertake the provision of the needed infrastructure and equipment (Mongabay, 2009). "There was also the concern that the JSS system would ultimately lead to an unfair distribution of education resources because wealthier communities were likely to provide better facilities than those in poorer areas" (Mongabay, 2009, p. 31).

The benefit of hindsight has vindicated some of these fears. In particular, the reform has proved to be an aggravating factor of education stratification, even if unintentionally. To begin with, the fear of the further marginalization of poorer communities materialized in a big way (Oti-Agyen et al., 2005). Moreover, the reform "stipulated that schools must be essentially day and community-based within walking distances" (Oti-Agyen et al., 2005, p. 94). Many such schools mushroomed, without adequate resources, especially in the rural and poor communities which lacked the means to provide classrooms, libraries, and other education facilities (Oti-Agyen et al., 2005). So the reform's good intention of increasing access while reducing cost of education actually achieved a rise in enrollment but created grave disparities in the education system. The linkage between this reform and the flourishing of extra classes in Ghana is, therefore, not implausible.

Summary

The challenge to provide high quality education for all people in any particular country, without prejudice to their race, color, ethnicity, gender, religion, sexual orientation, geographical location, or socioeconomic status, is one that will probably never go away as long as human beings are human beings. Ensuring equity, adequacy, and education access for all is a challenge, and many governments and education systems often falter. That is why education stratification continues to be an issue all over the world, but especially in developing nations.

Education studies revealed different causal agencies of education stratification. In Ghana, education stratification thrives on existing inequities which have a bearing on

education. The problem has been compounded by major shifts in education policy, particularly the 1987 education reform, which created new problems, including the proliferation of extra classes. A review of the phenomenon of extra classes and extra curricular activities does not show unanimity or convergence on their merits or demerits. The phenomenon relates to the management of school time, and especially instructional time. Some studies (Dynarski et al., 2004; Metzker, 2003) raise doubts about the benefits of adding more time to existing school time that is not being properly utilized. Others (Afterschool Alliance, 2003; Baenen, Lindblad, & Yaman, 2002; Boss, 2002; Farmer-Hinton, 2002; Lumsden, 2003; Meehan et al., 2004; Zakaluk & Straw, 2002), however, have a more positive appraisal of after-school programs, and time added to school time. This ambivalence is well stated by Dynarski et al. (2004): "Some studies of after-school programs have found that these programs increase academic achievement…. However, other studies have found that after-school programs have no effect on—and even worsen—certain outcomes" (p. xv).

The intervention of Ghana's Ministry of Education and the Ghana Education Service to ban the practice of a certain type of extra classes in Ghana suggests that they found these classes injurious to education delivery in the country. This research sought a clearer understanding of how that intervention affects secondary education, especially in Northern Ghana. It explored how the policy intervention could be evaluated and improved. The study also examined linkages between the policy and education stratification in the country. The method of investigation in this study is described in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology used in exploring the research questions in this policy study. Policy analysis often aims at equipping the policymaker with needed information on how the policy will affect the population targeted by the policy. The policy analyst endeavors to assist the policymaker in fashioning the most appropriate and effective policy for the problem at hand (Yanow, 2000). Policy analysis is commonly a forward-looking undertaking. It usually comes at the beginning of the policy process, a process which includes four key phases: policy formulation, implementation, evaluation, and revision (Cooper et al., 2004). However, "the sphere of activity has also extended to evaluating policies after they have been enacted, and to the evaluation of implementation activities themselves" (Yanow, 2000, p. 1). Hence, policy analysis "can focus on a policy's anticipated outcomes or, in retrospect, on its actual results" (Yanow, 2000, p. 2). The current study is retrospective, since it investigated an already enacted policy and the actual impact of the said policy.

Quantitative methods like cost and statistical analyses have been the favored approaches to policy analysis, with overwhelming concern for the fiscal outlay of the policy (Johnson, 2008; Yanow, 2000). The present study adopted a qualitative method in an interpretive policy analysis, as against the traditional quantitative positivist approach. In this interpretive approach, the focus is on the meaning and impact of the policy under study, and how the policy relates to education stratification. In the process, the "values,

beliefs, and feelings"[25] (Yanow, 2000, p. ix) of the human players—the policymakers and other players or constituent groups in the policy process—will be sought. Hence, data collection methods in this study will include document analysis, interviews, and review of the media.

Research Focus: Problem, Purpose, and Frameworks

This research investigated a 1995 education policy banning the practice of a particular type of extra classes in Ghana. Even though the ban made those extra classes illegal, the practice is still very much in evidence (GhanaNewsToday, 2005; GNA, 2003, 2008). The Government of Ghana, through its Ministry of Education and the Ghana Education Service (GES), expressed displeasure about the contribution of the practice of extra classes to education stratification in the country, and the effect on the management of instructional time (Ministry of Education/ GES, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c; Quianoo, 1995). Among other things, the policy statement banning extra classes alleged the shifting of "actual teaching to private classes" (Quianoo, 1995, p. 1). This situation also raised issues of accountability, equity, access, and social justice.

This study aimed to attain a comprehensive understanding of the concept and practice of extra classes in Ghana, including the factors that engendered the practice. It also scrutinized the policy by investigating the context and the precursory and causal factors of the policy. Furthermore, the study explored ways in which this education policy has impacted secondary education in Ghana, especially in the northern part of the

[25] Feelings, values, and beliefs correspond to the "three dimensions of human meaning-making: emotive/aesthetic (pathos), cognitive (logos), and moral (ethos)" (Yanow, 2000, p. 15, citing Gagliardi, 1990).

country. As a policy study, its ultimate purpose was to make recommendations founded on analysis of the data.

This research was conducted through the theoretical and empirical lenses of education stratification. Education stratification is the phenomenon of inequity and inadequacy in education systems and education delivery. Education research revealed significant obstacles to education access and equity. These obstacles give rise to education stratification. In Ghana, besides poverty, which is a leading cause of education stratification (Cooper et al., 2004), other causes have included various forms of inequity and some macro-structural factors, as elaborated on in Chapter Two. Education stratification is a phenomenon that makes certain individuals and whole communities unable to compete fairly with their less disadvantaged compatriots.

Research Questions

The following research questions guided the study:

1. What factors contributed to the development of Ghana's Ministry of Education-GES policy on the ban on extra classes in Ghana's schools?
2. What are expert and policy maker perceptions on the impact of the policy on extra classes on secondary education, especially in Northern Ghana?

The following sections present the methodology and methods adopted to answer these research questions, including the research design and data analysis procedure.

Methodology

This research drew on some aspects of Yanow's (1996; 2000) interpretive policy analysis for its methodology, supplemented by Cooper et al.'s (2004) four-dimensional

approach to policy analysis. Interpretive analysis goes beyond the positivist and quantitative approach to policy analysis. Its focus is "on the meanings of policies, on the values, feelings, or beliefs they express, and on the processes by which those meanings are communicated to and 'read' by various audiences" (Yanow, 2000, p. 14). Interpretive policy analysis is distinct from the dispassionate traditional approach in that it adds "the expressive dimension of human policy-making action, demonstrating and enacting for a variety of audiences, near and far, what a polity finds meaningful" (Yanow, 2000, p. 88). Since the polities are diverse, the meanings are multiple and may be contradictory. These meanings are representative of different policy actors whose values, feelings, and beliefs are not necessarily the same (Johnson, 2008; Yanow, 2000).

Acknowledging the complex nature of the policy process, interpretive policy analysis accepts that the search for meaning "cannot be restricted to policy language or ideas only as understood and intended by their authors. Others whose understandings of policy are or will be central to its enactment are also of analytic concern" (Yanow, 2000, p. 9). Since a mismatch often occurs between the way the same policy is understood by policy makers on the one hand, and by other "policy-relevant groups" (Yanow, 2000, p. 9) on the other, neither understanding or group can be taken for granted or left out of the reckoning by policy analysts. For greater accuracy and comprehensiveness, interpretive policy analysis scrutinizes both the policy intent, as captured in the policy texts and explicated in interviews, and what Yanow (2000) calls "the local knowledge held by communities of meaning in constructed texts" (p. 10).

Yanow (2000) identified "at least three communities of meaning in a policy situation: policymakers, implementing agency personnel, and affected citizens or clients" (p. 10). Hence, policy analysis seeks to throw light on the divergent interpretations by different communities of meaning and also on the modes of communicating these meanings (Yanow, 2000). If necessary, the analyst may also ensure that "underrepresented groups are enabled to make their interpretations heard" (Yanow, 2000, pp. 18-19). In the process, the interpretive policy analyst may attain another important goal, which is to "generate new ideas for policy action…rather than merely advising on the choice of one existing proposal over the others" (Yanow, 2000, p. 19).

Johnson (2008) is right in his observation that "Too often, policy is developed and enacted without gathering significant and valid input from (or truly having concern for) the various constituencies that would be affected by such policy" (p. 53). In this respect, Yanow (2000) described interpretive policy analysis as "democratic in that it relies on the presence of multiple stories, told from the points of view of, ideally, all policy-relevant actors, and not only the stories (and thereby values) of experts, policymakers, or other elites" (p. 91). This analysis of Ghana's extra classes policy created room for the telling of an unfamiliar story—the story of education stratification as experienced by the weaker constituencies, as elaborated in Chapter Two, and in particular, the marginalized communities of Northern Ghana.

Research Design

In adopting the qualitative method of inquiry, this study employed interviews with policymakers and policy implementers, analysis of policy texts, and review of the media.

Interviews were the leading method of data generation. Triangulation was achieved with the other two methods.

Interviews. Interviews with education policy makers and implementers generated answers to both the first and second research questions. As persons who were directly linked to the education policy formulation process these resource persons were helpful in understanding the background of the practice and policy of extra classes. As Yanow (2000) well observed, interviews are means by which "the analyst's provisional assumptions about the boundaries of interpretive communities, the important artifacts, and their meanings can be corroborated or refuted" (p. 31).

The participants were interviewed formally. While remaining flexible and allowing for deviations, the same open-ended questions were applied to each participant. Hatch (2002) viewed interviews as conversations, which may be informal or formal. Informal interviews take the form of unstructured on site conversations, while formal interviews, variously categorized as structured, semi structured, or in-depth, are planned ahead of time, even though the interviewer maintains flexibility in the actual process of interviewing (Hatch, 2002).

The advantage in interviews, especially with formal interviews, is that the interviewer can be more specific in regard to research objectives, since such interviews allow for better focused questioning and clarification of responses. According to Fraenkel and Wallen (2003), even experts need this kind of help, in spite of their study and training, since no expert has studied or experienced all there is to know in a given field. I spent at least 60 minutes with each interviewee. With their permission, I used audio

recording instruments during interviews. An interview protocol is included in the Appendix. The following table summarizes how interview questions relate to research questions.

Table 1. *Correspondence of Interview Questions on Research Questions*

Research Questions	Interview Questions
1. What factors contributed to the development of Ghana's Ministry of Education policy on the ban on extra classes in Ghana's schools?	1, 2, & 6
2. What are expert and policy maker perceptions on the impact of the policy on extra classes on secondary education, especially in Northern Ghana?	3, 4, 5, & 6

Participants. There were four participants in this study, and they were all interviewed in a formal way. They included two policy makers and two policy implementers. The policy makers were the Minister for Education, and the Director General of the Ghana Education Service (GES). The policy implementers were two of the three Regional Directors of Education in Northern Ghana. All participants were presented a participant consent letter to complete and sign. The participant consent form and interview protocol are found in the Appendices A and B respectively.

According to Johnson and Christensen (2008), a good study respondent is one who has the knowledge and experience that the researcher requires. The selected participants were the best placed in the country to contribute to this study. They were selected by a purposive non-probability sampling procedure. According to McMillan and Schumacher (2006) purposeful or purposive sampling is the strategic selection of participants or elements that can provide rich and profound information for the study.

Purposeful sampling enhances the utility of information derived from small samples (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). The four selected participants met these criteria. In addition to interviews, the media was helpful in enunciating the meanings and concerns of the weaker and frequently ignored constituencies, apart from the perspectives of the other communities of meaning, namely, policymakers and policy implementers.

Analysis of policy texts. Analysis of policy texts was the next most important data collection method, after interviews. Yanow (2000) contended that "human meanings, values, beliefs, and feelings are embodied in and transmitted through artifacts of human creation, such as language, dress, patterns of action and interaction, written texts, or built spaces meaning" (p. 14). Various policy constituents make use of different artifacts, and in different ways, and it is the analyst's task to unravel the ensuing conundrums. Yanow (2000) addressed this challenge by prescribing five steps in interpreting policy:

1. Identify the artifacts that are significant carriers of meaning for the interpretive communities relative to a given policy issue…;
2. Identify those communities relevant to the policy issue that create or interpret these artifacts or meanings…;
3. Identify the various meanings carried by specific artifacts for those different interpretive communities involved…;
4. [Identify] the meanings that are in conflict between or among groups and their conceptual sources. (pp. 20-22)

The fifth and last step is to mediate in the conflict aroused by the discordant understandings and to facilitate fruitful discussion among constituents. This could lead to the adoption of one position by the policy maker, or a reframing of an old position "or the policy question itself, thereby leading to a new understanding among contesting parties that points to new avenues for action (Yanow, 2000, p. 23).

Policy texts. Interpretive policy analysis has the understanding that "policy meaning is indeterminate and that there are multiple 'readers' as well as 'readings' of policy and agency 'texts'" (Yanow, 2000, p. 60). This is the approach I brought to this study. Four documents formed part of document analysis in this study. Three of these were policy documents on the banning of extra classes in Ghana, and one was an explanatory document. Analysis of these four policy documents generated answers to both the first and the second research questions. Taken together, these documents constituted one comprehensive policy statement. Various interventions by government and education officials to re-authorize and re-emphasize the policy were examined under the canopy of media activity. The following are brief presentations of the four documents.

Ministry of Education-GES (1995a). The first policy statement was issued on January 16, 1995, and referred to three forms of extra classes, namely, "vacation classes, remedial classes and special classes in Public Schools" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995a, p. 1). This statement contains the first banning order: "The Minister for Education has directed that with immediate effect no extra classes should be organised in any public schools or public buildings including staff bungalows" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995a, p. 1).

Ministry of Education-GES (1995b).The second policy statement followed soon after the first one, on April 4, 1995. It was in the form of a press release by the Minister for Education. This follow-up was necessitated by "public debate generated by the ban and the general opinion that the organisation of certain categories of extra classes be

maintained and regulated" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995b, p. 2). There had been a fierce public reaction to the blanket ban on extra classes. Responding to this reaction, the Ministry of Education lifted the ban on two of the three types of extra classes mentioned in the first policy statement, namely remedial classes and vacation classes (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995b).

Ministry of Education-GES (1995c). In less than four months after the press release, the office of the Director-General of GES issued another circular titled "Monitoring of the ban on extra classes." Dated 27th July, 1995, the circular reiterated the modified ban on extra classes. It would seem that the need to re-state and re-emphasize the ban was created by compliance failures. The circular found it necessary to remind the addressees (District Directors) of "the need to monitor the implementation of government policy regarding 'Extra Classes'" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995c, p. 1).

Quianoo (1995). The fourth document examined was not a policy document as such, but an explanatory document in the form of a press statement. This statement actually preceded the three substantive policy statements already referred to. In a press conference, held on January 11, 1995, and captured in the 12th January, 1995 issue of the *Daily Graphic*, the then Minister of Education, Mr. Harry Sawyer, presented key issues that were important for a proper understanding of the policy. The Minister made reference to "the growing outcry against this practice where teachers shift actual teaching to private classes," and lamented that this "has grossly undermined the commitment of teachers to the regular school programme with most schools not completing the syllabi even though the school calendar period provides adequate time for instruction" (Quianoo,

1995, p. 1). This press statement constituted a vital commentary on the banning policy and played a key role in the interpretation of the policy. The policy was also analyzed according to the four dimensions proposed by Cooper et al. (2004). These dimensions were relevant at both the formulation and evaluation phases of the policy process, but were applied here to the formulation stage.

Role of the media. Media review was the third data collection method, and made important contributions to the study. Reportage in the media, especially the Ghanaian media, on the issue of extra classes was reviewed. The role of the media in the policy process is often significant, since the media is rarely a silent by-stander. The importance and omnipresence of the media (radio, television, internet, and the print media) in today's world make them one of the key interest groups in the policy process (Cooper et al., 2004). This is because, even though "the media may not have the power to create or set the policy agenda, they play a crucial role in determining how quickly agenda items rise to prominence on the political agenda" (Cooper et al., 2004, p. 67).

Importance of Language. Like the media, language is important in the policy process, especially for agenda setting and problem definition. Yanow (2000) explained the use of "frames" to encapsulate policy, and argued that "Policy frames use language, especially metaphorical language, and in so doing, shape perceptions and understandings…[and they] also entail courses of action" (Yanow, 2000, p. 12). The manner of expression, the use of words, metaphors, symbols, analogies, and the organization and management of language for effect are not left to chance in policy formulation (Cooper et al., 2004). "Language conveys intentionality through its power to

create desired outcomes and to influence relationships through shared social meanings" (Cooper et al., 2004). The language applied in the extra classes policy was examined for appropriateness and effectiveness.

Dimensions of Policy Analysis

Without rigidly adhering to Yanow's (2000) five-step process of policy analysis, this process formed part of the methodology for the current study. Cooper et al.'s (2004) four dimensional approach to policy analysis supplied the other part. Following Yanow's (2000) procedure, the artifacts of meaning were related to the various policy-relevant communities. In this study, the artifacts of meaning were the policy texts and the language employed in them.

Normative dimension. Political culture often plays a role in shaping policy. At the normative dimension, the policy on extra classes was be examined for the role political culture played in its formulation. At the normative or ideological dimension[26] of policy formulation, the prevailing political culture impacts the policy process by narrowing down policy choices, since, "The political culture in a given arena or location plays a significant role in determining the range of alternatives given serious consideration at any time" (Cooper et al. 2004, p. 73). For example, reformist or progressive regimes are more likely to spearhead policy innovation (Cooper et al. 2004).

Structural dimension. The structural (organizational) dimension involves the role of "the formal structure of governing institutions" (Cooper et al. 2004, p. 74). The power and relational dynamics between the Ministry of Education, the Ghana Education

[26] The normative dimension of the policy process portrays the norms of the society, including "the beliefs, values, and ideologies that drive societies to seek improvement and change" (Cooper et al., 2004, p. 43).

Service, and the policy implementers shed light on the understanding of the formulation of the policy. The structural dimension deals with "the governmental arrangements, institutional structure, systems, and processes that promulgate and support policies..." (Cooper et al. 2004, p. 43). Hence, provisions of the Ghana constitution were relevant at this dimension, insofar as they delineated structures that protect the policy process. Policy analysis is strengthened by understanding of institutional structure and its role at the various political and administrative levels.

Technical dimension. The technical dimension holds the details, and includes the "planning, practice, implementation, and evaluation—the nuts and bolts of policymaking" (Cooper et al. 2004, p. 43). This is the practical dimension of policy. Hence, the various stages that the policy goes through, and the steps taken to get from one stage to the next, were addressed by the technical dimension (Cooper et al. 2004).

Constituentive dimension. At the constituentive dimension, the following questions will be of interest. What role did interest groups play in the formulation of the policy on extra classes? Which groups favoured the policy, and which groups resisted it? The constituentive dimension is the level at which groups that stand to lose or gain from particular issues battle it out on the terrain of policy evolution. Such interest groups need not be directly linked to education. They may include the media, politicians, business people, and many others (Cooper et al. 2004).[27] Also they may be involved "formally

[27] The constituentive dimension "includes theories of the networks, elites, masses, interest groups, ethnic/gender groups, providers and 'end users,' and beneficiaries who influence, participate in, and benefit from the policymaking process" (Cooper et al. 2004, p. 43).

through governmental structure and informally through their ability to influence other groups" (Cooper et al., 2004, p. 44).

Data Collection and Analysis

Data Collection Protocol

Data in this study was derived from three main sources: interviews, study of policy and archival documents, and review of the media. I, the researcher, conducted all the interviews in Ghana, during the month of February, 2010. Before then—from May 10, 2009 to June 23, 2009—I was in Ghana to explore for data that would enable me prepare a study proposal, and also to select prospective research participants. There were five participants, all of them Ghanaian educationists. Two of the participants were policymakers and the other three were policy implementers. Of the three policy implementers, one was still in active service while two recently retired from the education service. The following matrix guided the data collection process.

Table 2. *Data Collection Matrix*

Policy Analysis Dimension	**Focus Points/Interview Questions**
Normative Dimension *(Ideological underpinnings & Political culture)*	Genesis of the policy. Education values. Problems addressed Questions 1, 2, 4, 6, 7
Structural Dimension *(Organization of Education Service; Constitutional provisions)*	Government and Education Service structure Questions 1, 3, 5, 7
Technical Dimension *(Policy procedures & Guidelines)*	Government and Education Service procedures Questions 1, 5, 7
Constituentive Dimension *(Interest groups: Supporters and Opponents)*	Gainers. Losers. Policy impact & consequences Questions 3, 5, 6, 7

The interviews were conducted in places and at times convenient to participants. This was arranged ahead of time, by e-mail and telephone. The retired educationists were interviewed in their homes and the serving educationists were interviewed in their offices. All the interviews lasted between 60 and 90 minutes. Convenience emphasized privacy and quiet, but confidentiality was not a concern since all participants were public figures.

Data Analysis Procedures

Data from interviews was transcribed to enable for convenient analysis. I then used NVivo 8 software to apply a coding system to conceptualize the data. The software was helpful in setting up a coding framework and identifying the themes of the investigation. The rest of the data analysis process proceeded manually, with the help of facilities of word processing.

Positionality of the Researcher

My position as a researcher had significant bearing on the study. Yanow (2000) asserted that "The expectations that one brings to a policy analytic project derive from one's prior experience, education, or training" (p. 8). My personal biography and my relation to the field of study impacted my fervor and the flavor of the study, without necessarily affecting its objectivity or compromising scientific and ethical requirements. Cooper et al. (2004) indicated that "whenever policy analysts are contracted to evaluate a program or conduct an implementation evaluation, they are answerable to their employers or sponsors" (p. 48). I was not contracted to do this policy analysis. I was an independent

researcher and analyst. My biases, if any, only related to my personal history, and my place of origin, which happened to relate directly to this particular research.

I was born and raised in a farming village in Northern Ghana. My parents never went to school. Indeed there was no school in my village when I was born. The few educated people from my village who were born before me had to walk several miles to other villages and towns that were blessed with schools. My village elementary school was opened when I was five years old. I went to primary school in this school and continued to a boarding secondary school in the administrative capital of my region, twelve miles away from my village. After obtaining the needed passes in the GCE "O" (Ordinary) Level examination, I was privileged to gain admission to a good school in Southern Ghana, to pursue secondary education at the GCE "A" (Advanced) Level. Although my "O" Level school in Northern Ghana was a great school by northern standards, the two years I spent in my "A" Level school in the South opened my eyes to the glaring differences and disparities between Northern Ghana and Southern Ghana, insofar as education facilities were concerned. However, neither in my "O" Level school in Northern Ghana, nor in my "A" Level school in Southern Ghana, did I experience the practice of extra classes.

I encountered the issue of extra classes many years later when I was a pastor in Tamale, a city in Northern Ghana, from 1999 to 2006. During this time, students from the various schools in the city came to the parish to seek financial help. Many of the students said they had to attend extra classes, or receive extra teaching, and had to pay the extra fees charged for this "service." The rate of this request for financial help surprised me,

because it was not the practice during my secondary (high) school days. I could not help wondering what gave rise to this practice of extra classes on such a scale, and what sustained it. This quandary sustained my interest in conducting this study.

Ethical Considerations

Aware that the need to safeguard the welfare and safety of participants superseded my interests as a researcher, and cognizant also of the need for trust between myself and participants, I paid particular attention to ethical requirements of research. To satisfy participants' need to understand what I, the researcher, intended to do with the research results, I explained clearly to them what was involved in the research, and what was expected. This was done in English, since all participants were highly educated people and spoke English fluently.

Even though all the participants were public officials, and easy to identify, I opted not use their proper names or official titles. I have observed similar caution in handling the interview data. The data was collected primarily for the writing of my doctoral dissertation, but is open to use in other works as well. Hard copies of transcriptions of the interviews are stored in a safe place accessible to me alone. Soft copies are preserved in my computer, and backed up on a storage device.

In the interview process, I adhered strictly to the guidelines of the Institutional Review Board of Loyola Marymount University (LMU), and those of the Ghana Education Service, even though participants did not belong to any vulnerable group. Although no participant requested anonymity or confidentiality, I observed those and other accepted research practices. Those were relevant considerations, due to the

controversial nature of the policy on extra classes, and the over politicization of such matters in Ghana.

Validity and Reliability

Validity

I adopted various strategies to enhance validity. McMillan and Schumacher (2006) referred to validity as "the degree of congruence between the explanations of the phenomena and the realities of the world" (p. 324). My validity enhancing strategies included triangulation, use of tape recorder, and member checking (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). Triangulation refers to the extent to which information from other sources may be extended, verified, or cross-validated (Hatch, 2002). Different research instruments have different strengths in drawing out information to answer research questions. Interview of participants was the leading data gathering strategy. Data from this source was triangulated by document analysis and media review.

Reliability

Data reliability or trustworthiness was insured in different ways. McMillan and Schumacher (2006) insist that "the researcher should select trustworthy evidence for pattern seeking by qualitatively assessing solicited versus unsolicited data, subtle influences among the people present in the setting, specific versus vague statements, and the accuracy of the sources" (p. 374). As a form of member checking, I cross-checked with participants and obtained clarifications in the course of interviews, to ensure accuracy of information (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). Due to constraints imposed by distance between the USA and Ghana, as well as the availability of time for the

dissertation process, it was not be possible to send transcriptions of interviews to participants for their review. Audio recording of interviews enhanced data accuracy and ensured facility of data storage and retrieval.

Conclusion

Education stratification will probably remain in education systems for as long as other forms of inequity exist in human society. It will continue to challenge education policy makers and implementers to find ways to bring about greater education equity. Ghana's education policy on extra classes is one nation's effort to address the problem of education stratification. Following the methodology outlined in this chapter, this policy was subjected to detailed scrutiny, to determine whether it was meeting the objective or adding to the problem.

Hence, the purpose of this inquiry was to attain a clear understanding of the policy on extra classes, and to determine how effective it has been, as a policy. The policy's impact—intended and otherwise—on secondary education, especially in Northern Ghana, was particularly assessed. Chapter Four presents the findings of this research. This is followed, in Chapter Five, by detailed analysis and discussion of the data, and pertinent recommendations.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter presents the data and main findings of this mixed methods research study conducted in Ghana on that country's education policy on extra classes. The data were collected and transcribed between December 2009 and June 2010. Data analysis and recommendations are presented in Chapter Five. The study answered two research questions, namely:

1. What factors contributed to the development of Ghana's Ministry of Education policy on the ban on extra classes in Ghana's schools?
2. What are expert and policy maker perceptions on the impact of the policy on extra classes on secondary education, especially in Northern Ghana?

   The data presented in this chapter is deemed ample to answer these research questions, drawn as it was from three data sources.

Data Sources

This research derived data from three main sources: interviews, study of policy and archival documents, and review of the media. The interviews were all conducted in Ghana during the month of February 2010. This was, however, preceded by preparatory and exploratory work from May 10, 2009 to June 23, 2009, which enabled me to prepare a study proposal and select prospective research participants. The foremost source of data was interviews of participants. Triangulation of data emanating from this main source was afforded by study of policy and archival documents and review of the media.

Interviews

Five Ghanaian educationists were interviewed. They included two policymakers and three policy implementers. Two of the latter recently retired from the education service while the other participants were still in active service. The retired educationists were interviewed in their homes and the serving educationists were interviewed in their offices. All the interviews lasted between 60 and 90 minutes.

Archival Data: Policy and Other Documents

Study of policy documents and other relevant documents constituted a vital part of this study. As reported in Chapter Two, finding these documents was a challenge. The document search was done in the offices of the Ghana Education Service in Accra (Headquarters), and in the regional and district offices of the Service, as well as some Ghanaian universities.

Media Reports

My interest in this study developed from previous contact with media reports about the practice of extra classes in Ghana, apart from my own direct experience of the practice, as explained in Chapter Three. The data reported here is, however, derived from a more intensive media search conducted over a period of seven months, in Ghana and on line. For review of current and archival media data, I made use of the internet. I was also given access to archives of some media houses while I was in the country during the research period. Intense media discussion on the practice of extra classes and the ban thereof, adequately reflected the public interest in the matter, since the media is rarely a

silent bystander. This review of reports in the media, especially the Ghanaian media, on the extra classes policy, bolstered the other two research methods.

Review of Methodology

As outlined in Chapter Three, the methodology chosen for this study adopted Yanow's (2000) Interpretive Policy Analysis approach. This approach gives more scope and voice to the key players in the policy process. The policy process itself follows the four-dimensional analytical framework proposed by Cooper et al. (2004).

Interpretive Policy Analysis

Interpretive policy analysis goes beyond the typical positivist and quantitative approach to policy analysis. It is distinct from the dispassionate traditional approach in that it adds "the expressive dimension of human policy-making action, demonstrating and enacting for a variety of audiences, near and far, what a polity finds meaningful" (Yanow, 2000, p. 88). Since the polities are diverse, the meanings are multiple and may be contradictory. In this study, the key players or stakeholders are the policy makers, policy implementers, and those at the receiving end of the policy. Notable among the latter are the marginalized communities, especially the impoverished populations of Northern Ghana.

I agree with Yanow (2000) when she said that policy analysis cannot be satisfied with the "policy language or ideas only as understood and intended by their authors" (p. 9). It is necessary to scrutinize both the policy intent, as captured in the policy texts and explicated in interviews, and what Yanow (2000) called "the local knowledge held by communities of meaning" (p. 10). In this study, both the data gathering and reporting

took these perspectives into consideration, as did the four-dimensional approach to policy.

Four-Dimensional Analytical Framework

The data is reported in this chapter along the contours of the framework proposed by Cooper et al. (2004), namely, the normative, structural, technical, and constituentive dimensions. In particular, the first and fourth dimensions, that is, the normative and constituentive dimensions, respectively, received greater emphasis in the data presentation. This was because these dimensions coincided more directly with the focus of the research questions.

At the normative dimension, political culture and other factors were examined for their roles in the formulation of the policy on extra classes. The structural dimension showed the power and relational dynamics between the Ministry of Education, the Ghana Education Service, and the policy implementers. At the technical dimension, the data illustrated the various stages that the policy went through, and the steps taken to get from one stage to the next. The constituentive dimension revealed how the different players sought to protect their interests in the face of the extra classes policy, as shown in the following presentation of research findings.

Presentation of Research Findings

Data gathered from the three sources accessed in this research is presented mainly in a verbatim manner. I, the researcher, thought that I should let the data speak for itself. This choice of technique was guided by the fact that participants' views reflected the ongoing debate in the country on the extra classes policy. By choosing a verbatim

relation of these views, I sought to present an animated exposé of the issues in contention, in a manner that reported speech would not capture. This direct and persuasive exposition of the data has the benefit of evoking attention to a serious problem and provoking serious discussion. It also created a solid platform for more intrepid and challenging conclusions and recommendations in Chapter Five.

The five research participants are identified as Policymakers A and B, and Policy implementers A, B, and C. Their contributions are presented as personal communications. These contributions are not presented in the order just mentioned, but according to the flow of ideas expressed. The interviews were conducted in February 2010.[28] For neatness and convenience of presentation, however, the date is not cited for each contribution. "Media Reports" and "Policy Documents" are referred to as such, with a reference following the text to specify the source.

The four main sections coincide with the four dimensions of policy. Each section has an introduction and a critical question. Selected data for each section speaks to the critical question. The critical questions are not the original interview questions; rather, they cut across the original questions although the original answers are maintained. In each section, the data is divided into "major" or "minor," according to the significance of contribution to answering the research questions. A summary wraps up each section.

[28] Policymaker A was interviewed on February 23, 2010; Policymaker B was interviewed on February 26, 2010; Policy implementer A was interviewed on February 19, 2010; Policy implementer B was interviewed on February 12, 2010; and Policy implementer C was interviewed on February 9, 2010.

Normative Dimension

The normative dimension of the policy process portrays the norms of the society, including "the beliefs, values, and ideologies that drive societies to seek improvement and change" (Cooper et al., 2004, p. 43). The data presented in this section is a reflection of this understanding, as portrayed in the various research sources. Data in this lengthy section targets the first research question, and includes the following subsections: Delineation of the policy, remote factors in the development of the policy, proximate factors in the development of the policy, problems addressed by the policy, education values targeted by the policy, and the extent of the practice of extra classes.

Delineation of the Policy

I started each of the interviews by asking the interviewee for his or her understanding of the policy under study. The delineation of the policy was helpful in creating common ground for the rest of the interview. This presentation of the understanding of the policy, as verified by the three data sources, was fashioned around the critical question, "What is your understanding of the policy?"

Major points.

Policy Document: The Minister for Education has directed that with immediate effect no extra classes should be organised in any public schools or public buildings including staff bungalows (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995a, p. 1).

Policy Document: As a result of public debate generated by the ban and the general opinion that the organisation of certain categories of extra classes be maintained and regulated, the Ministry of Education is directing as follows:

1. Remedial Classes: Heads of schools should involve the PTAs in the organisation of remedial classes. The use of laboratories and other school facilities should be strictly limited to remedial classes organised by the school exclusively for their own students.
2. Vacation Classes: Permission should be sought in writing and approved

> by District Directors. Fees charged must be approved by the GES. These classes should be under the direct supervision of the head of institution. District and Regional Inspectors for GES must monitor these classes. (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995b, p. 2)

Media Report: The main purpose of the ban was to put a stop to the growing tendency of certain teachers who organised special classes outside the normal classroom teaching and charged exorbitant fees, virtually holding parents and students to ransom and to the neglect of normal classroom teaching (Quianoo, 1995, p. 1).

Policymaker A: The policy banned those extra classes organised by individual teachers themselves. They did not relate to the school's program or supervision from the school to ensure that what was being done at these extra classes conformed to the school program, the syllabuses being taught at the time to the pupils, and whether the relevant textbooks and other supplementary textbooks were being used at these classes for those subjects being taught; whether they were relevant at all, the people teaching them, and their qualifications to teach them at the various levels.

Policy Implementer A:

> I want to begin by saying that GES is not against extra classes as such, or teachers taking remedial action to improve upon the performance of pupils and students… But what actually brought about the ban on extra classes is the practice of some teachers who were taking advantage of some of the pupils and students to organize these classes at a fee… Government is not against remedial or extra classes for that matter, but the organization.

Policy Implementer B: The gist, the thrust of the policy was to have a kind of system which is an initiative of the schools themselves, providing time and organizing the teachers after classes to kind of teach the pupils in areas where they were lagging behind, because that used to be the pattern of extra support from teachers…It is a form of extended school day, and it depends on the needs of each school. It can cover all the subjects or some specific subjects, according to students' needs. This is done, not just for final years, but for form one to form three.

Policy Implementer A: It is the use of contact hours, the use of those school facilities, the use of prep time, time that the child is supposed to have organized activities in the school, where the teachers were using those times for extra classes. So it is not the extra classes per se, but it is in the organization of those classes…Using the official hours to deny others the opportunity to learn, that is what the ban is about.

Policy Implementer B:

> So the government's intention, what was behind it all, is that they wanted to create a level ground, so that some people do not have advantage over others just because they have more money.

Policymaker A: What we don't want is individual teachers, on their own, conducting extra classes, committing their time and energy to extra classes to the extent that their own work, they are not doing it. That's what the policy sought to ban.

Policymaker B: We did not want the teachers to do it entirely on their own, because some of them were just extorting money from parents and never seriously prepared even to teach the pupils...it was just the bringing together students or pupils, and then filling the time anyhow and collecting money from them.

Policy Implementer B: Extra classes that are organized by individual teachers for which fees are charged remain banned. But if…there is an extra class, even for a child, and it is approved, then that is it. This extra class could be remedial. So the remedial classes can be at the instance of the teacher or school, or at the instance of the student. So these extra classes are not necessarily meant to make up for the syllabus, not necessarily.

Policymaker A: So in terms of the policy itself, it is a straightforward policy. You can't just put students together, waste their time, and collect money (laughs). It doesn't have any effect actually on the performance of the student, because if you studied the performance of pupils in a particular school where this practice is prevalent, you should see an improvement in the work of students in that school. In most cases, it doesn't, it doesn't show. So how do you allow an activity which is not providing help? Therefore, it would be difficult to allow the extra classes to remain in the school, the way it was being done those days, and being done now, which is raising the anxiety and concern of many parents. We can't allow these extra classes to exist without ensuring that these regulations are there.

Minor points.

Policymaker B: Any time you raise the issue of extra classes, you have all sorts of debates coming up, some supporting it and some against it. They ask you questions, teachers argue that…unless somebody else organizes extra classes, some of the pupils would be denied the opportunity of being taught.

Policy Implementer B: The thrust of the regulation was to get these things done in orderly fashion, under the supervision of both the school administration and the PTA so that justice would be done.

Policy Implementer A: I want to state that, where a parent or teacher has seen that there is a child in the class whose performance needs to improve, it is allowed that special teaching be arranged for this child.

Policymaker A: Now you have identified this child; you are not the head of the institution, and you have not discussed this need with the head of the institution. By your own self you are just going ahead to do this, using the contact hours for this kind of remedial classes, using the school facilities. Such acts must be banned. It's illegal. This is what the government is against.

Policy Implementer A: What we need to understand is that the government is not against extra classes, even by individuals, no. If there is that need, and the extra classes are well regulated by the school, okay. The class teacher or subject teacher needs to identify students who are not doing well and put in remedial measures.

Policy Implementer A: If a parent has seen the need for a remedial action to be taken by a school, or by a teacher, regarding some subjects or a particular subject, the parent is free, but there is the need to meet the school authorities to discuss, so that there will be that kind of arrangement. They don't use regular class periods for such classes. Maybe at the weekend, the teacher can take on that child. The GES does not ban those individual acts, but they must be regulated.

Summary. In their own different ways, participants showed a clear understanding of the content of the policy. Their observations were in agreement with the position stated in the policy documents. From an initial ban on all forms of extra classes the policy was modified to draw a line between remedial and vacation classes, which were permitted, and the other forms of extra classes:

> It should be emphasised that extra classes organised by individual teachers or groups of teachers for students in school premises for which fees are charged remain banned. Classes organised in teachers' bungalows are not allowed since they disrupt extracurricular activities and undermine school discipline. (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995b, p. 2)

Participants also agreed that the policy's goal was to restore sanity to the education system by streamlining and ordering teaching and learning in schools. Hence, they contended, the policy was not against extra teaching as such. They emphasized that the policy did not take away liberty on the part of schools, parents, teachers, and even students to seek or provide help where there is the need. The need could be in regard to

particular students or whole subject areas. Interventions to address such need are described as remedial, and are legal once they received the approval of administration.

I pointed out that the banned extra classes were still in evidence, and that the policy was probably not well understood. To this Policymaker A responded:

> As to whether the policy is well understood or not, for some people it's not the matter of understanding; they think that as long as the children are being taught they'll do well. Right, so they see the policy as depriving the children of extra teaching. What we are saying is that your child does not necessarily need extra teaching to make it. Schooling is not just sitting in the classroom from 7 o'clock a. m. to p. m. that's not it. There are other things that go with it, and we try as much as possible to explain these things. (Policymaker A)

Participants also made the point that parents' anxiety for the success of their children often clouded their estimation of what was educationally helpful or otherwise. This could explain their propensity to support a deal like extra classes, against their better judgment of what the policy was trying to achieve. In light of this, participants acknowledged the responsibility of policymakers to provide suitable regulation.

These responses highlighted the complexity of the reasons and motives behind the practice of extra classes; hence the convolution in the way the policy was received can be understood. They also show that even though ill motives could justify the ban, some of the activities surrounding extra classes were laden with good intent. I explored this further by examining factors remotely linked to the genesis of the policy.

Remote Factors in the Development of the Policy

The genesis of Ghana's education policy on extra classes has deep and extensive roots. The causal factors behind the policy long predated the 1995 enactment of the policy. This section focuses on those factors that constitute a more distant background for

the evolution of the policy, by addressing the question, "What are the remote causes of the policy?"

Major Points.

Policy Implementer B: You know, in the early part of the 1970s and then the 80s, a lot of teachers went to Nigeria, then referred to as "Agege." Some also went to Lybia and other countries because of the prevailing economic situation. They went in search of greener pastures. Therefore teacher supply was short. This created problems in the education system. Student performance at the senior secondary school level was so poor that some parents were ready to pay teachers extra money to teach their children more effectively. These were parents who had the means to pay teachers. They got this extra help for their children, some in their homes, some in organized groups.

Policy Implementer C: At the background, I would say it was also highly political. Parents were complaining of high school fees, high expenditure on their children's education, and no government wants to be blamed for high expenditure on anything by the citizenry. So it was government's way of cutting down parents' expenditure on education. So it was partly to get political favor by way of, you know, being seen to be sympathizing with parents.

Policymaker A: The people going into teaching go not because they love teaching. So they look on teaching as a place to make money. So that's what has really brought about this thing. So in the deprived communities, generally people are not committed. The time that is in the timetable, students are not given enough. Okay those in the urban areas find alternatives. Because my teacher is not teaching…parents who have money take their children to private classes to make up. Obviously they have the advantage.

Policy Implementer C: I must also say that part of the problem is created by an overloaded timetable. With the education reform, the curriculum is too loaded.

Policymaker A: I wouldn't say that the reform contributed to that. The reform, on paper, had very good intentions, and people will always—I don't want to say that it's because of the reform…if the reform hadn't come, would there have been no teachers exploiting through extra classes?

Policy Implementer A: The 1987 reform per se did not call for extra classes. The issue rather has to do with some schools, especially in the deprived communities. They do not have the full complement of teachers. So as a result, in order to make up for teaching and learning in some subjects, there was that need to embark on these

extra classes for pupils…But honestly speaking, the reform does not have any bearing on extra classes.

Policy Implementer C: The education reform created new demands on education, from teacher to inputs, textbooks, all sorts of teaching and learning materials, science labs, everything. So we were really hard put, and so people tried to find ways out. As a result things became commercialized, and government had to do something about it.

Policy Implementer B: With the introduction of the reform, new subjects were introduced at the Junior Secondary School level. This meant that the subject quantum of the Senior Secondary Schools which the JSS students were going to graduate into had to be looked at too. So we needed teachers of a certain caliber for the JSS. We needed teachers to man and operate the workshops. Now, here we were, short of teachers because of the "Agege goers," and yet we were introducing this new demanding system.

Policy Implementer C: We started the ref with no textbooks. We were only given syllabuses. Most of the teachers had not returned from Nigeria, and the situ was just bad. So parents, on their initiative—nobody prompted them—parents who wanted success for their children, decided to come together in certain schools, to form PTAs, to help motivate teachers to help their children succeed.

Policy Implementer B: The 1987 reform definitely compounded the extra classes problem. I must say that part of the problem is created by an overloaded timetable. With the education reform, the curriculum is too loaded. It was not possible to cover the curriculum without extra time…Therefore in 1994 the De Heer-Amissah Committee, in a review of the education reforms, recommended a reduction of the syllabuses at both the basic and the secondary school levels.

Minor points.

Policy Implementer C: What I know is that, with the introduction of the reforms in 1987, the first products performed so poorly that something had to be done.

Policy Implementer A: I wouldn't say it's the reforms per se. Rather, because we ourselves have not been able to keep up with the needs of schools as the population kept growing. So these things were there in the system. It's not the reform that brought them, but then, with the reform, especially in the deprived communities, as a result of more schools being opened, to meet the demands of the various communities, there was that need in those schools to make up for the teaching and learning of those students.

Policy Implementer B: …Eventually, we found that as the teacher population failed to keep up with increases in student population, more and more teachers were getting involved in the extra classes. Teacher supply was short [and] this created problems in the education system. Student performance at the senior secondary school level was so poor that some parents were ready to pay teachers extra money to teach their children more effectively…Then, also at that time, government itself realized that, because of the teacher shortage, certain areas were lacking in personnel, like the sciences, mathematics, and certain practical areas. So government itself came out with a policy that we should have extra classes.

Policy Implementer C: Teacher deployment was affected because teachers resisted being sent to places where they could not conduct extra classes for extra pay. They preferred the urban communities. So teacher deployment became a problem for that reason, as well as other factors like rural electrification and others. So places like Accra, Tamale, and other urban centers became choked while other places were starved. The 1987 reform made things worse.

Policymaker A: I'm telling you that there's been, you know, an astronomical growth of the population in schools…so the conditions are not the same. More especially in schools that have big names, everybody wants the child to go [there]. So we've had over enrollment; these schools have more students than they can support, and obviously when that happens, you will agree with me that the attention, the quality of teaching and learning may not be the same as when you and I were in secondary school.

Policy Implementer B: The practice was also encouraged by parents who wanted to keep their children away from home for as long as possible, including during holiday time… especially, excuse me to say, children from polygamous homes…So vacation classes are welcome even for the KG child…But it's rather a cheap way. But the teacher also needs money, and the parent also needs somewhere to leave the child. So they are all deceiving themselves, that's the way I see it.

Policy Implementer C: If at the end of the BECE, your child does not get a good school, then parents feel the aim of the child in the first cycle has been defeated. And at the end of the senior high school, if he doesn't have a prestigious course at the university, then they feel their aim has been defeated once more. And the universities charge fees for students who don't make the required grades but want to get into certain programmes.

Policymaker A: The policy came about as result of changing the academic year from January to December. We needed to change to the original September to August. If you remember the academic year started from January to December, and this went on until, I think, about 2000. It became necessary to change it. It meant that some of the students were going to have a reduced number of contact hours in the

year…So it became necessary for the Ministry [of Education] to introduce extra classes and the Ministry also recognized the fact that teachers who were going to teach needed to be compensated. So various schools were asked to find ways and means of organizing extra classes and they were allowed to take [monetary] contributions [from students]; some levies were allowed. But we've gone beyond that…Now with things back to normal, we expect that there would no longer be need for the extra classes.

Policy Implementer C: Now, as I said, with the introduction of all these reforms, parents realized that something extra must be done, especially after the first results of the reforms, if they were to salvage the situation. Children could not get into Senior Secondary School, and parents wanted this for their children, so definitely, they went looking for people to support their children to do well. And they started agitating. So extra classes were greatly promoted.

Summary. Participants referred to the rapid opening of community schools all over the country, a phenomenon which, they said, stretched school resources and created various levels of inadequacy. The poorer communities were most adversely affected. Hence, in an indirect and remote way, the various communities contributed to the phenomenon of extra classes, albeit not culpably. All they did was fight for their right to have schools in their own localities, whether or not the resources were available to do so. The resulting inadequacy created openings for the manipulation and exploitation of the system in the form of extra classes.

Participants also raised the issue of time lost to other activities during the school day and school year. Specific mention was made of "certain holidays that had not been planned, like the Muslim festivals, or deaths, sporting activities, cultural activities, and other such activities that take away school time" (Policy Implementer A, personal communication, February 19, 2010).[29] Lack of supervision was diagnosed as a serious cause for the loss or improper use of school time.

[29] Extensive treatment of time loss in Ghana schools is found in Chapter Two.

The anxiety of parents for the success of their children, especially slow-learning children, was also diagnosed as fuel that sustained the practice of extra classes. Parents were prepared to pay anything to ensure that their children succeeded enough to get into a good senior high school, and then into the university to pursue a competitive study program, like medicine or architecture. Similarly, some school authorities turned a blind eye on the practice because they perceived that it aided student performance and thus enhanced the image of the school.

Not all participants were ready to blame the 1987 education reform, even though evidence shows that the syllabus introduced by the education reform was unwieldy. Policy Implementer A pointed out how ridiculous the extra classes regime had become by roping in kindergarten children: "Everybody is saying the syllabus is so extensive... But I want to believe, even to the extent that we are having vacation classes for KG children, which is so ridiculous, it's just because somebody wants to capitalize on the system" (Policy Implementer A, personal communication). It would seem, however, that this apparently bizarre situation was caused by some parents' wishes to keep children away from home, as Policy Implementer B had contended. It is hoped that a clearer perspective of this hydra-headed issue will be afforded by examining the proximate causal factors of the policy.

Proximate Factors in the Development of the Policy

Certain factors on the Ghana education scene brought the background just described to a head. These factors were such that Ghana's education policymakers could not ignore them. They may be regarded as the proverbial last straw or the proximate

factors in the development of the policy on extra classes. What, then, are the proximate factors that led to the policy?

Major points.

Policymaker B: The anxiety over extra classes in secondary schools was when the first batch came out in 1994, and the results were very bad, but the effect of those poor results wasn't the start of the activity of extra classes;...that activity was already there, with the idea that it would put the students in a better shape and allay their anxiety.

Policy Implementer B: At the managerial level, management was challenged to deal with the chaos. It seemed that management was no longer in control of the situation, knowing who was teaching what at what time. Everybody was doing what they wanted. Education was being commercialized, classroom accommodation and facilities were being overtaxed, and furniture was breaking down by the chaotic activities. Then, at the teacher level, what was happening was that, since teachers were benefiting directly, they were more interested in those extra activities than their classroom work. It was felt that something just had to be done.

Policy Implementer B: It was government that started extra classes for certain subject areas…And then some teachers who were outside the subject areas being addressed also started asserting that their subjects were equally important, so why don't we also join the bandwagon? So more and more teachers were brought into the teaching of extra classes. This posed a challenge to school heads, to control the situation, and monitor the teaching activities, and how to reward them at the end of the month. Then, suddenly, somewhere along the line, we found that it was too much. Every teacher wanted to take advantage of it. And so, I think the budget became too big for government. So, this brought about the ban.

Policymaker B: The prelude to the policy was a period of time when a lot of schools had their teachers organizing what they considered as extra classes, and they would actually even mix the terms of extra classes and remedial classes…this was happening inside the schools, in their own homes, and at various places in town, trying to engage the pupils in extra teaching and learning. It became so rampant and the charges were so exorbitant that the Ministry [of Education], and for that matter, the Ghana Education Service, had to step in to save the parents and the pupils from this kind of extortion and hardship.

Policy Document: There were other disturbing effects of extra classes that must be addressed to arrest the 'Commercialisation' of tuition within the education system and the misuse of school facilities for private commercial enterprises at the expense of normal school work (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995b, p. 1).

Policymaker B: Until the policy anybody could just claim that there was need for him to organize extra classes, even if he was teaching effectively well, just in order to collect money. And then they perverted the system further by selecting topics to be taught at the extra classes which they could have taught at the normal timetable for the day, in order to attract pupils to attend those classes, which was morally unacceptable, but that was the practice.

Policymaker A: You look at the reasons behind the policy. People were being exploited, right? People were being exploited. There were allegations of teachers not being serious during classes time, and then, y' know, working so hard for the extra classes just to make them so attractive for pupils to attend their classes, because of the monetary gains…If you're a teacher, and you do not do your work during the normal classes what right have you to organize extra classes?...A school where teachers do not teach well during normal classes time, the teachers have no business organizing any extra classes.

Minor points.

Policy Implementer B: Sometimes, during classes, these teachers are not prepared to teach the children. They rather organise these extra classes, and if you don't attend these classes, number one, you will not have the full teaching on the syllabus. Sometimes they even go to the extent of discussing examination questions with the children in their special classes, so that the children who could not make it to those classes are at a disadvantage.

Policy Implementer B: Well, in the past few years, there has been a general outcry against poor supervision of schools in many of our schools, and that it was because of this kind of thing that led to teachers sometimes absenting themselves from their normal class and even going to some other schools to take up part-time teaching. Also, teachers were lacking for certain subjects...So, if you lack teachers in certain areas and you can get a teacher from elsewhere who can come over and teach the children after normal classes, I mean, it's got to be accepted; otherwise that gap would never be filled. That is what happened.

Summary. Participants were in agreement that the practice of extra classes got out of hand and the intervention was necessary, although there was disagreement about its timeliness. They observed that, in some schools, the idea of extra classes was a good one turned devious. According to them, teachers started by organizing extra teaching free of charge to help their students cope with new demands. However, "after some time,

some teachers got the idea that they could benefit from the system by isolating students and teaching them, so that they could earn something, which was not under the control of the school administration" (Policy Implementer B, personal communication). Things then went from bad to worse. "Some teachers ignored regular teaching and rather concentrated on what they were interested in…so that they could compel the students to look for them in the afternoon so that they could teach them and make more money" (Policy Implementer B, personal communication). The point was also made that it was at this time that the Ghana education system witnessed a proliferation of private schools, some of them not worth the name.

From participants' comments, it seems fair to say that the Ministry of Education and the Ghana Education Service became aware that it was no longer possible to allow the rampant practice of extra classes and still hope for good outcomes from the education system. A certain headmaster expressed it well when he said that "too many extra classes, contrary to helping students to prepare adequately for their examinations, rather denied them enough time to study" (*Ghana News Today*, 2005, p. 1). This comment sets the tone for a scrutiny of the problems that the policy intended to address.

Problems Addressed by the Policy

Policies are enacted to address pressing issues in the community. From the foregoing presentations, it was clear that a certain disturbing background accounted for the development of Ghana's education policy on extra classes. Data in this section showed more clearly the kind of problems the policy aimed at solving. Hence, the data

spoke to the question, "What problems in the Ghana education system did the policy set out to address?"

Major points.

Policy Implementer B: There were many problems. For example, the practice of extra classes resulted in overusing school facilities, to the extent that sometimes the normal students didn't have access to the facilities. But the teachers were more or less doing private business, using public facilities, which is very bad.

Policy Implementer C: Teachers did not give regular classes and homework. They did not even plan their classes. So a lot of things cropped up because of these activities. One other thing was that there were a lot of nefarious activities going on in teachers' bungalows in the name of extra classes; immoral relations and acts between teachers and students. Students frequented teachers' bungalows with the excuse of going for extra classes, and you found that a whole lot of things were happening. That is why the ban covered extra classes in teachers' bungalows as well.

Policymaker A: Now, we have a time table. Teachers must go to class on time. It's management that should see to it that teachers go to class, they prepare before they go to class, they ensure that students are given the exercises they are supposed to be given, they mark them, and so forth. If schools have that tradition, they'll always do well. Our problem is supervision.

Policy Implementer B: In the mind of the policy framers, they sought to address the problem of teachers abandoning their core duty in the classroom, and rather paying more attention to the extra classes they organized to make money. It was a genuine problem.

Policy Implementer C: The extra classes led to student absenteeism and truancy. Students simply stayed in their dormitories during class time. Even some students who turned up ended up sleeping during class, only waiting for the time for extra classes.

Policymaker A: It's the, you know, the Ghanaian teacher of today. I'm telling you many of the teachers we have today are not people who should be in teaching. It's when people don't have anything to do then they go into teaching. Any teacher worth his salt would not look at the money per se. There's joy in teaching and teaching well. There's joy in seeing your children pass.

Policy Implementer B: Money continued to be demanded and paid. Therefore the rural or poor person could not pay.

Policymaker A: We are in Ghana. There's freedom of speech...What do you mean by it's your right to have extra classes? So you should disrupt school program? If you want to have your extra classes, fine, you go to town, form your school, have extra classes…As long as there are people in town, and they want to come, nobody has anything against it. All we are saying is that, in a school there are rules and regulations. And in the school setting, we do not want these things to happen, for many good reasons.

Policy Implementer C: The practice is lucrative; that is why Ghanaians call it "galamsey," just like the illegal gold mining that is also creating problems in the country… Whereas we are poor up here in the North, in the South they are relatively better. So when it comes to anything that is being paid for, certainly we are disadvantaged. Therefore, parents in Northern Ghana, all the three northern regions, could not afford the fees for extra classes, most of them could not.

Media Report: The Minister described the whole situation as blackmail. He lamented that "the growing outcry against this practice where teachers shift actual teaching to private classes, has deepened the blackmail tendencies by some teachers (Quianoo, 1995, p. 1).

Media Report: According to the Minister, this "has grossly undermined the commitment of teachers to the regular school programme with most schools not completing the syllabi even though the school calendar period provides adequate time for instruction" (Quianoo, 1995, p. 1).

Minor points.

Policymaker A: Some people in some schools use their garages, halls, sitting rooms for all sorts of classes, and they do not even enforce attendance, because once they get the money, that's all they want.

Policymaker B: The use of staff bungalows and classrooms not only prevented other staff and students from the proper use of these facilities but also affected maintenance of discipline in the schools.

Policymaker A: There were reports that some of them [teachers] don't teach very well in the classroom and try to bring all the stuff to the extra classes. The reports come from the students. It means they see you, and we don't think this is right. It means the official hours are, consequently, not enough to cover the syllabus. They resort to the almighty extra classes, conducted at a time when the children are themselves tired and need to relax the brains in a recreational activity.

Policy Implementer B: Discipline was badly affected too. There was disorder in student and teacher behavior. You saw students sleeping and dosing in class.

Policymaker A: It [the practice of extra classes] also became exploitative. Just because the teachers realized that the students needed them in order to pass, they raised their fees very high, in certain cases, because this was not under the control of anybody, and it was take it or leave it. Since people were desperate, they took it.

Media Report: The editorial of a daily newspaper asserted that teachers' quest for money went beyond engagement in extra classes, further compounding the problem: "After so many hours spent with the NGOs, or whatever jobs engage their time, the teacher would be physically and mentally exhausted. The result is that he/she cannot give of his/her best in the classroom" (Editorial, 2008, p. 1).

Summary. Review of problems targeted by the policy was one area of discussion that was not discordant. Participants seemed in agreement that the problems created by the uncontrolled practice of extra classes, and hence those addressed by the policy, were obvious. In particular, the problem of the commercialization of education, which benefited only some teachers and those students with the ability to pay, was keenly felt.

Participants reiterated the problems that led to the problems addressed by the policy—the root causes. Even though the policy was meant to speak to these fundamental issues, Policy Implementer C was adamant that the policy failed to do so: "We are just scratching the surface and leaving the substance…The poorer communities still suffer disadvantages because most of them have no teachers. They still have to depend on somebody from outside their immediate school environment to help them pass" (personal communication). By examining the education values targeted by the policy, it was hoped that its positive or proactive thrust would be more evident.

Education Values Targeted by the Policy

It can be assumed that every education policy is enacted with certain education values in mind. Ghana's education policy on extra classes is no exception. Data in this section presents answers to the question, "What were the education values targeted by the policy?"

Major points.

Policy Implementer C: Regarding values, the policy sought to restore our good old system, commitment to classroom tuition. Dedication to duty was enough to prepare the child to succeed. So if the ban was imposed and we all came back and did our classroom work dutifully, then we would not need the extra classes.

Policy Document: "Heads of Institutions are also reminded of their responsibilities, as first line supervisors, to ensure that school time is fully utilised in strict pursuance of the school time; to regularly inspect teachers' notes, class assignments, students'/pupils' assessment records and to generally supervise classroom teaching" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995a, p. 1).

Policymaker A: People go to school not only for academic work—they go for other things as well, to build the whole person, total personality. And these extra classes are disrupting some programs of the school. So we say, no, because of this we don't want these extra classes.

Policymaker B: We recognized the fact that we need co-curricular activities as well. Therefore we had to prevent the practice of extra classes…But, you know, it's not easy because of students' performance—there are so many factors.

Policymaker A: The normal classes must be taught effectively, and if that is done across board, no matter where the school is, teachers need to teach this number of periods in a day. If somebody is in charge, ensuring that this is done, then there would be equity in the provision of service, and there would be equity in assessing the output of the teacher.

Policymaker B: It is also absolutely important to look at the general principles guiding time management in our schools, the number of activities we organize involving these pupils at both the basic and secondary levels. They are too many, too many. And some of them are distractive. They turn the attention of students from academic work, the basic academic work that should go on, to other areas like cultural displays, sporting activities, entertainment programs, and so forth.

Policy Implementer B: So you found that the Ghanaian child was always subjected to book learning and more learning. Other aspects of education necessary for the holistic training and upbringing of the child, like sports, school entertainments, debates, and other things, were overlooked. So we thought we had to protect some of these fundamental education values.

Policy Implementer C: It would have been in the interest of the North if the equation was even for everybody in the country. But now it is tilted in favor of the South because of their ability to pay for goods and services, not only in education, but in every other aspect of our lives. So, it favors the South. If there was parity in the education system, we wouldn't suffer a disadvantage.

Minor points.

Policymaker B: In fact research seems to indicate that we have the least contact hours in Africa. Now, in spite of this, we have loaded the curriculum with all kinds of things. We have failed to look at the picture holistically.

Policymaker A: What we are saying is that your child does not necessarily need extra teaching to make it. Schooling is not just sitting in the classroom from 7 a. m. to 7 p. m. that's not it. There are other things that go with it, and we try as much as possible to explain these things.

Policymaker A: Well, this thing [extra classes] can be done with or without the charges. So this is what I'm talking about…I can tell you we still have teachers in the system who see that their class or certain children have certain needs, and they go ahead to do these things for them free of charge. The government is not against it.

Policymaker B: We are still depending on the supplemental teaching in the form of the extended school day, extra classes, and remedial classes. These are what are helping the students to get good results, but, as I said, the possibility for these activities are not within the reach of all. So the potential for disparity remains.

Policymaker A: Where things are streamlined, all parents are charged, so all children will benefit from the extra classes. So schools need to ensure that students participate in the extended classes. It is seen as a school activity where all students take part.

Summary. Prominent among participants' observations was the issue of time management. They took the strong position that, unless the regular time is well utilized, it does not make sense to advocate extra classes. As Policymaker B expressed it, "extra means the basic teaching is going on very well, and therefore they needed some extra

output to be able to put the children in good shape" (personal communication, February 26, 2010). To ensure proper use of school time, participants stressed effective supervision.

However, there was a slight disagreement on whether there was adequate school time for the curricula. Along with others, Policy Implementer A maintained: "Yes, I think so. There's enough time. The time in the program is enough. What we need to find out is whether truly the time is profitably used, in other words the contact hours" (personal communication, February 19, 2010). While sharing the conviction that better time management could greatly ease the problem, other participants, nevertheless, also thought school curricula and syllabi could benefit from some load shedding.

Participants also called for commitment on the part of teachers, and a return to core Ghanaian values like honesty, generosity, and accountability. They lamented that values of teachers had changed. "They are looking for money for any service they give. Right now if you had committed teachers in the rural areas, children would do well and also pass, just like the others" (Policymaker A, personal communication, February 23, 2010).

A participant, Policy Implementer B, gave some teachers the benefit of the doubt: "It was true that their [teachers'] anxiety to prepare the students very well…also gave cause for the need to organize extra classes" (personal communication, February 12, 2010). He suggested that the policymakers shared this anxiety. For his part, Policy Implementer C acknowledged the good intent of the policy, but indicated that good intentions alone were not good enough: "If we had a good supply of textbooks and if

schools met their teacher needs, I would support the policy" (personal communication, February 9, 2010). This submission, along with the sad acknowledgment of the loss of values in the teaching profession among other indicators, raised legitimate concerns about the extent of the continuing practice of extra classes, the policy notwithstanding.

Extent of the Practice of Extra Classes

This research studied the impact of Ghana's 1995 extra classes policy. Part of that impact was the extent to which the policy stamped out those extra classes that were affecting education negatively in the country. This is the thrust of this section, which addresses the question, "What is the evidence of the extent of the practice of extra classes in the country?"

Major points.

Media Report: In 1995 the government of Ghana banned unauthorized extra classes and standardized the regular instructional time. However, the practice continued unabated, and even gathered momentum (EduNet Forum, 2004).

Media Report: Ten years after the ban, the Minister for Education "ordered striking teachers to stop organizing extra classes for students for various fees" (ModernGhana, 2005, p. 1).

Media Report: The widespread practice of extra classes drew the attention of the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) which served notice that "income earned by teachers in both private and public schools from extra classes is liable to taxation" (Ghana News Agency, 2008, p. 1).

Policy Implementer C: Extra classes were highly patronized, and it is still being done. Extra classes are still going on especially in the urban centers. If you go to the rural areas, like Zuarungu, Bongo, etc. you won't find it.

Policy Implementer B: In the North, except for a few schools, there are neither illegal extra classes nor the extended school day. In fact, when you go to the interior, the very rural areas, there were not even teachers to organise the extra classes. So what students from these areas did was, during holidays, they would travel to urban centers to look for remedial classes.

Policy Implementer C: From my observation, after two or three years of enforcement of the policy, everything broke down, because parents wanted to see results. The results kept declining, children were not doing well.

Policymaker A: We are no longer getting complaints from parents about charges for illegal extra classes. This presupposes that the policy implementation is going on well…You may have a few schools where supervision is weak. They're in some corner, nobody comes there to check, so they do their own thing. But I don't think it's a widespread kind of thing as such. Final year students, yes, but first years, second years, I don't think so.

Policymaker C: If you go to the Director General (of GES) or the Minister (of Education), they will tell you that they banned the practice, and they will pretend that it is working (laughs).

Policymaker B: Well…we are implementing the policy, that is, headmasters ensuring that these things are not there, but I cannot say that the practice is totally eradicated. There is the need for all of us to continue with our supervision, to be vigilant, to ensure that we implement the policy.

Policy Implementer C: For the first one or two years, it was effectively enforced. But in the South, parents came together again in the big schools, like Wesley Girls, Achimota, Prempeh, and all those big schools, they came together and said that the burden of educating their children rests with them, and it is their will to contribute money to give to the teachers to prepare their children to pass their exams.

Minor points.

Policy Implementer B: Parents are afraid to complain. You ask them why, they say I don't want my child to be identified. So you let it rest there. I just want you to be aware that this is what is going on. So a lot of them do it that way, they have been paying because they have to.

Policymaker A: You have parents who are complaining, they don't like it [the practice of extra classes]. But my child attends the school. Well if in the long run he'll pass the back door [to succeed], let me pay and have my peace of mind. There's the situation where, if you complain too much your child will be the target. So we know all these problems are there.

Policy Implementer A: You mention the occurrence of this phenomenon in our schools. Well, if it is happening, then honestly I am not aware, being new to the region. At least from my meetings with the heads of assisted secondary schools, what they told me is that they find it difficult to actually get the students to pay. So if this is happening, then I want to believe that it is in a few schools, and, maybe the few parents that have that ability to pay.

Policymaker A: Where we have the information [that the practice is going on] we take action. But I am also aware that a lot of illegal things are going on, but it's not easy to, y' know, catch them red-handed, or to deal with them, especially where the person who should be a witness, i. e. the student, refuses to witness, what evidence do you have to charge the person. That's the situation we have.

Summary. Evidence adduced by participants indicated that extra classes continued to be practiced, in spite of the ban. The two retired educationists were obdurate in their stance that the policy had yet to meet its mark. Policy Implementer B voiced the conviction of the two when he emphasized that even if people understood the policy "they simply ignored the regulation, and I believe the government too has turned a blind eye on it, you know; they cannot make sure that it is enforced" (personal communication, February 12, 2010). He attributed this to certain difficulties in the education system: "the lack of textbooks and teachers, etcetera. I mean, people have to use other methods to get the children to pass. So without recourse to extra classes, we won't achieve any results" (Policy Implementer B, personal communication, February 12, 2010).

On the other hand, the serving educationists were less inclined to admit this evidence. But even they dropped hints that the practice was proving to be more difficult to eradicate than they would have wished. Policymaker A alluded to this when he reported on a meeting previously held with heads of government-assisted secondary schools, CHASS: "CHASS was complaining that they were having problems with the

teachers, because some of them, the practice had been so embedded that banning it outright would create problems for them" (personal communication, February 23, 2010).

When I pointed out that many parents and guardians had been known to raise issues about the extra monies they were paying for extra classes, I did not get a denial to this, except a re-emphasis of the illegality: "Those things are illegal, those are illegal. The parent does not know which ones are legal, which ones are not. We adhere to the policy. We do not allow such things. But we're also aware that people do it secretly" (Policymaker A, personal communication, February 23, 2010). This issue receives further scrutiny in Chapter Five. Data at the structural dimension of the policy, which follows next, throws more light on the dynamics.

Structural Dimension: Ghana Ministry of Education and GES Structure and Procedures

At the structural dimension, data relating to Ghana's education institutional structures and the role of these structures in the formulation and implementation of the policy are presented. At this level, the focus is on the policymakers and policy implementers. The Government of Ghana takes ultimate responsibility for the state of education in the country. The government, however, operates through the Ministry of Education and the Ghana Education Service (GES). The policy on extra classes was fashioned by the Ghana Ministry of Education and the Ghana Education Service. Its implementation was entrusted to education directors in the regions and districts of the country, and to leadership in individual schools. The following data tackle the question,

"What role have the Ministry of Education and the Ghana Education Service played in the formulation and implementation of the policy?"

Major Points.

Policy Document: The Minister for Education directed that with immediate effect no extra classes should be organised in any public schools or public buildings including staff bungalows (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995a, p. 1).

Media Report: The Minister for Education called a news conference to publicize the policy and to explain the rationale for its enactment. In his statement, he lamented the loss of regular teaching to the regime of extra classes (Quianoo, 1995, p. 1).

Policymaker B: One of the things we are doing now is…ask the D. G. [Director General of GES] to send these circulars back into the system, perhaps with a fresh letter, and clarifying certain…areas, for purposes of implementation. It is no more a policy when the document is not even available, because people can do things in the likeness of what should be the rule. But that is not the rule, unless you can identify it. So if these [policy] documents are not there, then the policy is not there.

Policymaker A: We try to ensure that…policies are taken seriously…that policies that come are implemented the way they should be implemented. If the policies are made and you don't implement them, they cease to be, y' know, of any use. So the issue is with management of schools, their understanding the policy, believing in it.

Policymaker A: What happens is that we have schools charging all sorts of money for this extra tuition. They called it motivation, or whatever. We had a meeting with the Minister, and the leadership of the heads of secondary schools, CHASS, and we said okay, fine, we set a ceiling. Don't charge more than ten Ghana cedis. However, the motivation is not only for extra classes.

Policymaker B: For us an assurance, an enforcement of teaching hours, normal teaching hours, is to us a greater challenge than the remedial or extra classes. We need to ensure that teachers are doing their normal work effectively. Then, beyond that, we may not even need an extra class, or a remedial class.

Policymaker A: So the way forward for me is that management at national, regional, and district levels should make things clear to the management of schools and they should also make it clear to the teachers, and the communities, as well as PTAs, to understand the policies that are made and why they are made, what we want to achieve, the reasons behind all that.

Policymaker B: The Ministry is now taking up seriously an old proposal that we should have an external and independent inspectorate system so that what we think is the policy would be properly monitored and people held accountable instantly…so that they can deliver to their maximum and at the right time; then the performance would improve. So the National Inspectorate Board is being set up. At the moment, we have identified an office block and we will soon do interviews to select persons to positions of Chief Inspector and Deputy Chief Inspectors.

Minor Points.

Policymaker B: In fact when we were on the job, in those days, in the nineties, late nineties, we really saw to it that we held seminars, workshops, to make sure that these policy documents were right on the tables of officers at the district level. But I'm not surprised if we go to some districts today, and these circulars are not there, and that officers are not even aware of the terms of these policies.

Policymaker B: What we did was we were able to link school administrations with the PTAs and provided them with guidelines, official guidelines to be able to organise such classes in a better way, and for people to understand the kind of remuneration, or call it motivation, that was being given. It would have gotten the approval of parents themselves, so very few parents would complain about the level of whatever stipend or remuneration that was being given to the teachers.

Policymaker A: Even before the school decides to organize extra classes, the head of the school needs to find out whether there is that need for extended time. Then, after the approval, the head needs to supervise the classes, by ensuring that there is a timetable and that teachers teach for those periods before they are paid, from the extra fees approved. Only those teachers who actually do extra teaching are to be paid.

Policy Implementer A: I see this policy as a wakeup call for us educationists, and for the public to streamline whatever we do, our practice. Remedial actions will continue to take place so far as we don't have students with equal potential and abilities, also so long as we continue to have activities that disrupt the contact hours. But we need to actually look at how such remedial actions are taken, and as much as possible, stop the commercialization of this extra tuition.

Policymaker A: If a school sees the need for extra classes, it seeks approval, through their board of governors, the directors, to the Director General. Approval is given from the top for schools to charge something for these special classes where there is need. So, with supervision, these things are streamlined.

Summary. The Ministry of Education and the Ghana Education Service have put in place measures to streamline the operation of extra teaching in schools. The procedure, as explained by participants, was as follows: School administration establishes the need for extra classes; it presents the need to the school board; school board makes a request to the District Director of Education; the request proceeds to the Regional Director, and on to the Director General. The office of the Director General makes a decision on how much extra fees may be charged by a particular school for approved special classes. The school administration then seeks consent of parents, through the PTA, to collect the approved levy. According to Policy Implementer A, in some schools the PTA even undertakes to collect the money "to share among the teachers to enable them perform extra service; and it has helped some of these schools to maintain the balance between what they want and what the Ministry would approve for them" (personal communication, February 19, 2010).

The approved extra classes would be held after the regular classes in what may be called an extended school day. Since all students would be charged a special fee to cater for these classes, all students would be required to attend. The school administration would prepare a timetable to cover these special classes, with assistant heads and heads of departments ensuring supervision and compliance. This was a way of streamlining and putting order into the organization of such classes. According to need, these classes could cover all the subjects or some specific subjects. By such interventions, Government sought to replace unauthorized extra classes with a legal and regulated form of extra classes in schools. Policy Implementer A reaffirmed the position that Government was

not against extra classes, for, "if the government is against extra classes, then there would not even be the need for all this procedure" (personal communication, February 19, 2010). I, however, wondered whether systemic failure and lack of logistical preparedness had not forced an unwilled compromise. Data relating to the technical dimension address this concern.

Technical Dimension: Logistical Preparedness

The technical dimension goes into the nitty-gritty of the policy process. Even with the structures and procedures well in place, certain failures in the system could affect the policy process, especially its effective implementation. This section, therefore, presents data in response to the critical question, "What role do the Ministry of Education and the Ghana Education Service play in the policy, especially in ensuring its effectiveness?"

Major Points

Policy Implementer B: The NDC government had five years to implement the policy before leaving power, 1995 to 2000. The fact is that we just didn't do anything. We didn't do anything. We only made a statement and by the following morning it had fizzled out (laughs). I was in office then. Everybody said, what is this? Actually, in those days, Harry Sawyer, the then Minister of Education, was fond of coming to give press conferences every day, edicts about education. So we just took it as one of them (laughs). He used to blast people on the air and go away. Yes.

Policymaker B: There are difficulties [with enforcement]. We blame the [Ghana Education] Service for that, because they've got to put the teachers and school administrators on their toes, by supervision and monitoring. If the district is not doing that effectively, then the activities will go on. So now we are going back to the regulations of those years, and making sure that the supervision that is expected of the district offices is provided, and weed out those individuals who just want to make money.

Policymaker A: We expect management—you see there's some laxity as we bring the thing squarely before management, and that's why these days we're very particular about who should become the head of a school, because we believe that at the secondary schools in particular, the progress, the quality of all that goes on in the school depends so much on the headship, because he is the one who knows the policy.

Policy Implementer C: The policy, I'd say, at this stage, is not even functioning. Until you came to me with this thing [interview request] I had forgotten about it (laughs) because no school is adhering to it now.

Policy Implementer B: Nobody really thought seriously of the implementation, and nobody is thinking of its enforcement. I'm telling you the truth. Nobody bothers whether it is being implemented or not (laughs). So they issue a statement: the policy is no extra classes, no teacher should commercialize learning, so forth and so on. That is done, well and good. But for the implementation, they refer you to your District Director; go to this one, and they pass it back to the poor fellow who cannot do anything. And we have now more extra classes in Ghana than before.

Policy Implementer C: It is not, I mean, it was not possible for government to enforce the policy like a policeman. The way government could have achieved results would have been by making sure that all necessary conditions and facilities for quality education are there in place.

Policy Implementer B: If we had enough teachers, qualified teachers in our system, so that, if one offending teacher gets sacked today, tomorrow there is another one to step in, then the policy would stand a better chance. But the reality is that we have scarcity. You are looking for trouble if you sack him or her [offending teacher]. Parents and students will not see with you for removing this teacher who is "doing so well" to enable students pass their exams, and you say he should be sacked, he should be sanctioned—for teaching!

Minor Points

Policy Implementer C: I believe the curriculum was designed in such a way that, if teachers applied themselves adequately in the classroom, and we had teachers for all the subjects in the schools, and there were sufficient textbooks for all the students, it would be possible to use the normal timetable periods and get students to pass.

Policy Implementer B: So, no sanctions for violations! (laughs). Even when I was Regional Director, I never sanctioned anybody. If anything, parents would sanction you for not allowing extra classes, and they would push you, the head, out of the school, because they see you as an obstacle to their children's success.

Policy Implementer C: If a school has teachers and equipment, like a good laboratory, any student can go there and learn. It is when there are shortages that the extra classes go on.

Policy Implementer B: At that time that we were crying about textbooks, classrooms and furniture, that was the time this policy came in. That was the worst time, and that is why things went to the peak, things got out of hand.

Policy Document: According to the Ministry, the problem of poor teaching and learning was addressed by an improved curriculum, and in-service training programs meant to "enhance the skills of basic school teachers, head-teachers and supervisors" (Ministry of Education, Science, and Sports, 2004).

Policy Document: To deal with inadequate access, the *capitation grant* was instituted to assist poor parents pay for extra levies that District Assemblies impose in order to cater for school maintenance, cultural, and sporting activities. This had the positive effect of raising school enrollment and retention, especially of female children (Ministry of Education, Science, and Sports, 2007).

Policy Implementer C: As I've said, many of those who are to implement the policy do not understand the policy. They do not know why they are applying the policy. So, until we are able to bring people who implement policy to understand, we will not go anywhere.

Policy Implementer B: I'd say that what necessitated the policy, educationally, was well informed, but the execution or implementation of it was not given detailed thinking. Those who were to enforce the ban did not even have an idea about why they were to do it. So, actually, we took the boat, but not at the correct time.

Policymaker A: We have laws that people should not steal, but we get people stealing. Or laws against over speeding, but people will do it. If the policeman is there they will slow down, but otherwise they do what they choose. It's the same here; it's not that they don't know the policy, they know. The rule is there, but that's the situation.

Policy Implementer A: The issue is, if you go out of the school to teach, you are not under control. You are doing a commercial activity, and people are ready to pay for it. So, that makes it difficult to control.

Policy Implementer C: For a number of years, I remember very well, when the districts were monitoring this exercise and the enforcement of this law, it worked…In society, if supervision breaks down, things you wanted to eradicate rear their heads again. So it happened that by the time we reached 2000 the activity came back.

Summary

Generally, the policymakers claimed they had made efforts to see to the implementation of the policy. "We have sent several reminders, and reminders go in the form of circular letters or at meetings with managers of schools where we discuss several issues; at the national level, at the regional level, at the district level" (Policymaker A, personal communication, February 23, 2010). There was, however, admission that efforts to enforce the policy were not nearly enough. It was also argued that the forces militating against enforcement were overwhelming. In various ways, participants identified poor, or lack of, supervision, lack of ability or will power to reign in recalcitrant teachers, parent pressure, teacher greed, failing commitment of teachers to their official assignments, among many other daunting factors. The data also revealed evidence of buck passing between the policymakers themselves, and onto policy implementers.

Policy implementers were blamed for not doing their part. Some were blamed for not accepting the policy, also, because of the way it was thrust upon them. Others were charged with lacking a clear understanding of the policy, with the rest being accused of thwarting implementation outright, for their own selfish reasons. Some policy implementers went along with the general perception that extra classes were necessarily productive. With that outlook "they see the policy as depriving the children of extra

teaching. What we are saying is that your child does not necessarily need extra teaching to make it" (Policymaker A, personal communication, February 23, 2010).

School boards and school management committees also received blame. Particular mention was made of those in the rural areas "where the people who constituted the committees were not themselves knowledgeable about the school system, but were allowed to make decisions which really weakened the hand of head teachers to be able to enforce these official regulations" (Policymaker A, personal communication, February 23, 2010). All these considerations and the discussions in the foregoing sections constituted a background for examining the impact of the policy.

Constituentive Dimension: Impact of the Policy

The 1995 education policy on extra classes was controversial when it was promulgated, and remains so even today. Even policymakers and policy implementers were divided in their attitude toward the policy. Participants' responses in this research revealed some of this division in their own ranks, and among other stakeholders, due to what they stood to gain or lose. This section, which deals with the impact of the policy, is divided into two main parts. The first part concerns the general impact of the policy, while the second deals with its specific impact on Northern Ghana.

General Impact: Gainers and losers

Every policy has its attendant effects on the people or situations concerned. These effects may be general or specific, adverse or beneficial, and often determine both the development of the policy and the way it is eventually received by the various

constituencies. Data in this section are adduced to address the critical question, "Who, or what, are the main gainers and the main losers vis-à-vis this policy?"

Policymaker A: The problem…is that those who are to see to the implementation of the policy, the school itself, they are the culprits. They benefit from this, so it's very, very difficult to change, I mean to implement it. I sitting here, I cannot go round checking these things. I expect the heads…it's in the heads to enforce it.

Policy Implementer A: We have the situation where sometimes they all benefit, you know, where they benefit. That's where we have a problem, the person enforcing the rule himself is interested. In fact, maybe he was even doing it before he became a head. So he finds it difficult to really enforce it, and you'll agree with me that they are the people on the ground, they are the bosses on the ground to see to it that, you know, things are effective.

Policy Implementer B: Regarding impact, well, as I said, the ban stopped everybody from doing extra work. Even the voluntary things that we used to do when we were teaching; we used to go in the night to take our students through certain topics which we hadn't been able to handle; we used to do remedial work for students who were just coming in with weaker backgrounds…well, with the ban everything stopped.

Media Report: The chiefs [of a community in Ghana] expressed concern about the practice [of extra classes], and alleged that "teachers regard extra classes as a 'gold mine' and give preference to it [sic] than their normal working hours, adding that, apart from additional financial burden on parents, extra classes over-stretch the brains of the children" (GNA, 2003, September 18).

Summary. Participants' views showed that those who benefited most from the practice of the banned extra classes, and, therefore, those most adversely affected by the policy, were teachers. This created the anomalous situation whereby "since teachers were benefitting directly, they were more interested in those extra activities than their classroom work" (Policy Implementer B, personal communication, February 12, 2010). Some schools also encouraged the practice of the banned extra classes, or turned a blind eye, because they perceived them to be helpful to their students. Parents were also divided on the issue. There were those who complained about the exploitative nature of

unregulated extra classes, and who applauded the ban. Other parents, however, joined in the perception that those extra classes were auspicious for their children's success.

It was clear that the challenge presented by polities that felt threatened by the policy was a formidable one. Policymaker A summed this up well when he lamented: "A situation where a policy comes and because you, in a way, benefit from the absence of the policy, and because of that you don't want to implement it, y' know, it undermines the policy itself" (personal communication, February 23, 2010). These general differences between polities were observable all over the country, and were reflected specifically in the north-south divide.

Impact on Northern Ghana

In chapter two, I highlighted a study with the revealing title "A tale of two Ghanas: The view from the classroom" (Kraft et al. 1995). The disparity between Northern and Southern Ghana underscored by this study suggests how a policy like the one under review might affect the two parts of the country differently. This is what data in this section seek to demonstrate, by addressing the critical question, "What are the various ways in which the policy on extra classes is impacting Northern Ghana?" The data were subdivided according to the key areas that this impact was most keenly felt, namely, socio-economic, political, education, and stratifying factors.

Socio-economic factors.

Policy Implementer C: Sometimes we underrate our poverty, and people who don't know tend to say we exaggerate poverty in the North, but if you go to many of these rural places, I mean 50 pesewas [about 35 cents] is a big amount, and if he [father] parts with that amount [to pay for extra classes], the family is likely not to feed for that day.

Policy Implementer B: You see, the policy itself was in the interest of the poorer communities, because then everybody comes back to the same level, because no one is paying extra for services in the classroom.

Policy Implementer C: Money continued to be demanded and paid. Therefore the rural or poor person could not pay.

Policy Implementer B: As far as the ban on extra classes is concerned, I'd say it was a welcome step. You see, many people are not able to pay for education in the North. It isn't that they don't want to pay. They simply cannot pay.

Policy Implementer A: In the South, PTAs were able to make arrangements for extra teaching in the form of extended school day, but in the North, and rural and poorer communities, this did not happen. That is even one reason why, apart from the regulations banning extra classes, we are also finding ways and means of supervising what is normal, what is legitimately the responsibility of the teachers during the day.

Policymaker A: As often occurs, there may be loss of time or some other situation that one may need to make up for. That should be done in an organised manner, and we have indicated how it should be done without people collecting money. But where it becomes necessary for the PTA to show their magnanimity and their concern for the use of the teachers' hours, teaching the child in the normal and also the extra classes, then of course we feel that something could be allowed by the stakeholders to be paid out to the teachers.

Political factors.

Policy Implementer C: The colonial masters didn't want us [northerners] to get enlightened. We were meant to be a reserve of labor, I mean drawers of water and hewers of wood, as they said (smiles). We were to go down to the gold mines and mine the gold and go into the cocoa farms and weed the plantations. If we were well educated, we wouldn't do those things. So it was a deliberate [colonial] policy.

Policy Implementer B: I'll tell you this. There is something political in the policy…It was a little rushed, particularly after sanctioning extra classes ourselves as a government, then going on to ban it immediately. We did not take a second look at the consequences. I think they came up with it [the policy] when people started complaining that education was becoming commercial, and unaffordable. People were making noise about it. So a policy comes up.

Policy Implementer C: Some people say we have free education in the North. It wasn't free education. There is a bit of history to it. I don't know whether you are aware.

At the time we were agitating for independence, the North was seriously backward, as a result of colonial policy. You know, we were left out by policy. We did not have any secondary school at the time we were struggling for independence. For a northerner to attend secondary school it had to be in the South. About five of the best students in any academic year were sent to Achimota (in Accra). That is what the colonial policy did to us.

Policy Implementer C: Our northern political leaders, like Dombo, and others said no, we were not ready to go with the rest of the country to independence because we were so backward; we needed our own preparation to bring us up before, so the rest of the country could go independent, we would continue to remain as British citizens. Nkrumah [Ghana's first President] then promised the colonial government that he would take accelerated measures to bridge the gap between the North and the South, and this could only be done through education…It was a signed agreement between the Prime Minister at that time—Nkrumah—and the colonial government, who wanted all Ghana to be one. So they embarked on this rapid establishment of secondary schools in the North, these GET (Ghana Education Trust) schools, like in Tamale, Navrongo, Bawku, and so on. It was the result of that.

Education factors.

Policy Implementer A: As far as education is concerned, in our northern schools, our whole problem, is staffing and facilities. If those were improved, we would be okay, we could do better, other things being equal, like discipline.

Policy Implementer B: The normal classes must be taught effectively, and if that is done across board, no matter where the school is, teachers need to teach this number of periods in a day. If somebody is in charge, ensuring that this is done, then there would be equity in the provision of service.

Policy Implementer C: We, in the North, were afraid of incurring the displeasure of the Ghana Education Service and the Ministry of Education, and we did not disobey [the policy]; we abandoned the extra classes. This definitely affected our performance, so much so that at the Northern Region Caucus of headmasters, we also told ourselves that if we just allowed things to go the way they were going because we wanted to obey, the children would continue to suffer, because we saw the results as they came in year after year. Our students did not perform well. So, we tried to see what to do, in our own way, to help the children, without making it known to the policymakers, that we had gone back to the practice.

Policy Implementer A: In the North…as I'm talking, in those days we had just a few schools in the North, and people moved from all over [to attend them]. But today,

every community, they want not only primary and junior high, they want a senior high school. So, at the end of the day, the teacher supply is less than the demand.

Policy Implementer C: Where the schools are not properly supervised and managed, the performance is very low, yes very low. But, in the North, if you ask people to survive because of extra classes paid for, then you'd not get anything out of those schools.

Policy Implementer A: I must say that in the North, we don't see much of this abuse in the organization of extra classes, because, from the word go, majority of our children are poor. Most of the feeding grant is paid by government. So even when you call for payment of extra classes, it's quite difficult in the North. …As I said, we don't have this one-to-one kind of extra classes. It's not so common in the North. It's even now that we are trying to arrange some form of extended day.

Policy Implementer C: Beyond a doubt, it [practice of extra classes] is having a serious effect on us here in the North, because we are not able to measure up in terms of good results in the exams. You may recall that, some years ago (when the late Baah Wiredu was Minister of Education), they used to publish a league of the performance of schools in the WAEC exams. You found that, almost all our northern schools were ranking among the last three and four hundred, out of the four hundred plus schools. It was once that St. Charles was able to place 10^{th} or was it 9^{th}, Tamale Secondary School 13^{th} or 15^{th}. After that the other northern schools were trailing far, far behind.

Stratifications.

Policy Implementer C: The policy would have been a good solution to what is happening now, particularly the inequalities, inequities, and so on. But right now, it is laissez-faire.

Policymaker A: Government is doing all it can to send teachers to the deprived communities. But, once again, it is a question of individuals. People don't want to go there. So, we will continue sensitizing the system, to ensure that the right thing is done.

Policy Implementer A: Government is putting in so much money with the objective of ensuring that, at the end of the day, every child has access to education. Now children are in school, and they are indirectly being denied education.

Policy Implementer C: There are a whole lot of factors contributing to, maybe, our poor performance in the North, and I don't think these special classes, that is, the

individualized kind of thing is one of the causes for the poor performance in the North.

Policy Implementer B: You know, we had all been shying away from the existence of disparities in our schools. But, recently, the government itself came out with a categorization of the schools. Some are A-Schools, some B-Schools, etc. In the A-Schools, which are the top most schools, it's quite easy to pay money into a central pool to cater for arrangements like the extended school day. In the North, such schools are just a handful.

Policy Implementer C: Consistently, schools in all the three northern regions do not perform well, and that includes a school like Tamale Secondary School, which has quite good facilities and ought to do better; that kind of general drawback has an effect on them. Somebody who may be regarded as a very good student by northern standards, when he/she writes the WAEC exams, you find that, while his/her colleagues in the South obtain grade "As", he/she is likely to get a "C."

Policy Implementer B: It is not just the [colonial] policy. There are other things. The fact that schools in the North are the most deprived, the least resourced, etc. As you know, we had a late start, one century behind the rest of the country, and people think this is a deprived area developmentally, so no one wants to come here, unless to the towns.

Policy Implementer C: We needed a deliberate policy push to catapult us to be at par with the rest of the country. But that hasn't happened.

Policy Implementer B: Oh definitely, the policy will definitely further affect the north-south disparity. For one thing, there are more literate parents in the South than in the North. Also there are richer parents in the South than in the North. So when we are even talking of who can pay for more tuition for their children, we are talking of a larger community in the South than the North. And even if we brought it down to people who cared about education at all, the North is handicapped there too.

Policy Implementer C: Richer communities were able to get around the ban and factor payment for extra classes into PTA dues and others. So they continued to get ahead. Go to Opoku Ware, Adisadel, and all those big schools; they factor the extra cost into their PTA dues, and you won't know that it's for extra classes. So, they go on, they call it motivation fee.

Summary. Participants were unanimous in their view that the practice of extra classes, in the inordinate manner it was done, had a negative impact on Ghana's

education system. They indicated that this negative impact was severest on students from the more deprived communities, as demonstrated by their consistently poor student outcomes. Prominent among the sufferers in this situation was the northern part of the country, with its history of chronic deprivation. The extra and exorbitant charges that attended the regime of extra classes made it the preserve of the well to do, and many in the north were easily ruled out. As Policy Implementer C explained, the extra classes did not succeed well in many northern schools "because parents would not pay; and they would not pay, not because they don't want to pay, but because, it's simply beyond their means" (Policy implementer C, personal communication).

This meant that the North was, once again, left behind as the rest of the country moved ahead, reaping whatever merits the extra classes had to offer. The policy on extra classes, therefore, was perceived positively by participants, with regard to its impact on especially deprived communities. In their view, the policy sought to establish a level playing ground for all students by bringing the provision of needed extra classes into the mainstream of the school day and under proper supervision. Fees deemed appropriate for such classes were placed within the range of capability of parents, and not left to the mercenary whims of individual teachers or groups of teachers. This intention was that even parents in Northern Ghana and other poorer communities could be brought on board in PTA decisions to implement regulated extra classes, or the extended school day, in their schools. "So, at the end of the day, regulating it [the practice of extra classes] has helped parents in the northern part to support the schools to have this kind of classes for them" (Policy Implementer A, personal communication, February 19, 2010).

However, this arrangement may still be found wanting, since it remains a departure from the regular regime of classes and also involves extra charges. A more sustainable solution was, therefore, proposed:

> We should rather aim at improving all schools so that they are there for everybody to take the children to. If that is done, all this craze about extra classes, banning and all that would be over. We are operating a system where, if my child has to be a doctor, I need to pay for extra classes. (Policy Implementer B, personal communication, February 12, 2010)

Such a system, apart from being a drag on quality education, also "goes against those students who don't have the money to pay. This promotes a class system. It means that, if you don't have money, you cannot be educated" (Policy Implementer B, personal communication, February 12, 2010). This seemed to summarize the concerns of the educationists who fashioned the policy, and will be further scrutinized in Chapter Five.

Conclusion

This chapter afforded the opportunity to bring together a selection of the data gathered in the research. The data reported focused on the meaning, the description, and the genesis of Ghana's 1995 education policy on extra classes. The proximate reasons for the policy were related to the extensive practice of extra classes and the effects that this uncontrolled regime had on the education system. Things came to a head when there was fear of losing control of Ghana's education delivery by the Ministry of Education and the Ghana Education Service.

Remote factors behind this impasse were also considered. These included human factors, such as parents' anxiety and teachers' unscrupulousness. Systemic weaknesses included a poorly resourced education system and inadequate school supervision. These

causal factors persisted into the implementation, or failure thereof, of the policy. They also determined the ways in which the policy impacted the different stakeholders. In the next chapter, interpretive policy analysis approaches are invoked to discuss and analyze these findings and explore their possible meanings and implications, leading to recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This study scrutinized the 1995 policy intervention made by the Ghana Government and the Ghana Education Service (GES), banning a specific type of extra classes in the country. In this chapter, the main findings of the study are discussed and analyzed and relevant recommendations proffered. This is done from the perspective of two research questions, namely: 1. What factors contributed to the development of Ghana's Ministry of Education policy on the ban on extra classes in Ghana's schools? 2. What are expert and policy maker perceptions on the impact of the policy on extra classes on secondary education, especially in Northern Ghana?

Due to the volume of data, as the researcher, I was selective in the choice of which data to give more emphasis. Selection of data was guided by a quest for answers to the research questions. As indicated in Chapter Four, data relating to the normative and constituentive dimensions of the policy process is more directly suited to answering the research questions. After analysis and discussion of the data—intended to present a clearer understanding of the genesis, meaning, and impact of the policy—I offer recommendations that seem pertinent. In additional comments, I introduce a critical and realistic look at the situation created by, or in spite of, the policy, sixteen years after its enactment.

Discussion of Main Findings

As was done with the presentation of research findings, the data are discussed according to the framework of the policy process suggested by Cooper et al. (2004). This framework includes the normative, structural, technical, and constituentive dimensions. Data analysis applies the interpretive policy analysis approach proposed by Yanow (2000). Following the lead of the research questions, the main focus is on data at the normative and constituentive dimensions. These two dimensions also concur more directly with the methods of interpretive policy analysis. The initial spotlight is on the development of the policy, which links the policy to its remote and proximate causal factors.

Development of the Policy: Normative Dimension

The data trace the genesis of Ghana's extra classes policy to factors and conditions in existence well before January 1995, when the policy was enacted. These are the root or remote causes of the policy. However, more immediate or proximate factors were needed to start the birthing process of the policy. Through agenda setting processes among stakeholders, the issues surrounding what would emerge as the policy came to a head. The following examination of the remote and proximate factors in the development of the policy speaks to the first research question.

Factors in the Development of the Policy

Ghana gained independence from the British in 1957. Among the vestiges of British colonial presence, was the British system of education. English has remained the lingua franca in Ghana, and the medium of instruction in all Ghana schools. The British

grammar school system persevered until its replacement, in the education reform of 1987, by a greater skills-driven system, as described in Chapter Two. By then, it was obvious that the enviable excellence of education in Ghana had taken a downward spiral. It was beyond the scope of this study to fully interrogate this sorry development. However, a few salient points help establish the linkage between that unhappy education history and present woes in Ghana's education system. A review of the data on both the remote and proximate factors in the development of the policy exposes certain key issues addressed by the policy, and some prominent education goals that it targeted.

Main problems addressed by the policy. The views of participants in this research, on the issues addressed by the policy, were a lucid reflection of the hue and cry in the country over the practice of extra classes. Four main problems purportedly addressed by the policy were prominent, namely, commercialization of education, injustice and inequity, disorder and indiscipline, and "blackmail." The research participants identified these problems as direct offshoots of the inordinate practice of extra classes.

Commercialization of education. In the time leading to the imposition of a ban on certain types of extra classes, a canker slowly but surely had crept into the Ghana education system. The canker was referred to by the second policy document as "the 'commercialisation' of tuition within the education system" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995b, p. 1). It is not sure what caused it, for it was caused and sustained by many factors. Was it a change in the psyche and the moral fiber of the Ghanaian? Was it an issue of outright selfishness, loss of professional generosity, or simply a question of

survival of ill-paid operators of the system? Or was it a necessity imposed by inherent conditions in the education system itself? Whatever the cause may have been, the problem was as clear as daylight, as Policymaker A lamented: "The commitment of the ordinary teacher is not like it used to be. Any little thing that the teacher does, he wants to be paid for that" (personal communication, February 23, 2010).

Symptoms of the said malaise in the Ghana education system manifested themselves in two forms—the proliferation of extra classes and the mushrooming of private schools. Extra classes were held in school classrooms, in teachers' bungalows, teachers' garages, and private homes. Money was the driving factor in this phenomenon. Students could only attend these classes if they paid the fee demanded. More and more students were drawn to these classes as the perception grew that it was the only way to cover the syllabuses and pass exams. By the law of economics, the more the demand for these classes, the higher the fees shot up. This created irresistible enticement for more teachers to join in a practice to which creative Ghanaian minds soon gave the appellation "galamsey," or illegal gold mining. Having tasted the lucrative benefits of the practice, teachers were loath to relinquish it. It had sunk roots and taken hold. Gradually but inexorably, extra classes were becoming the norm rather than the exception.

As might be expected, the more the demand for these classes, and the more the involvement of teachers, the more teachers defected from regular classes, and the less effective regular classes became. This, in turn fueled a still greater need for extra classes to fill the void, thus creating a vicious cycle that spun with increasing momentum as time went by. As desperate students and parents did what was needed, in monetary terms, to

ensure participation in the ubiquitous extra classes, those without the ability to pay had to contend with yet another form of deprivation. In my opinion, it caused the deepening of education stratification.

At the same time that extra classes flourished, and maybe for the same reasons, private schools also blossomed. School proprietorship became the business choice of all manner of entrepreneurs, whose leading concern was not the provision of quality education but the maximization of profits. Ramshackle structures were given quick facelifts and turned into schools (Policy Implementer B, personal communication, February 12, 2010; Policy Implementer C, personal communication, February 9, 2010). Once again, in desperation, parents flocked to these schools in the hope of education salvation for their wards. Yet many of these schools portended no such help. They did not have what was needed to deliver quality education, having been hastily contrived to capitalize on the situation. When it came to staffing these schools, it was from the same pool of teachers, from the regular schools, that teachers were contracted. This took another toll on regular teaching. Besides, once again, only those with the financial wherewithal could go shopping for whatever benefits these private schools had to offer. In my analysis, this worsened the situation of injustice and inequity for many in the country.

Injustice and inequity. In a developing country like Ghana, situations of injustice and inequity are inescapable. This is often due to scarcity, leading to distortions in the allotment of the common weal. Without the appropriate empowerment and advocacy structures to protect the interests of the weak and the already disadvantaged, those who

have more often have more added unto them. In the light of this, education is viewed as a means of creating equal opportunity for all, since it targets the cultivation of the natural endowment of the individual, irrespective of socio-politico-economic advantage. Regrettably, the distortions introduced by the regime of extra classes greatly reduced the chances of using education to even out the inequities in the Ghanaian society (Policy Implementer B, personal communication, February 12, 2010).

As outlined in chapter two, inequities exist between the rural and the urban populations, between males and females, and between the North and the South of the country. These disparities are the work of both human failure and accidents of nature. However, by ensuring quality education for all, much could be achieved by way of reducing inequities.

In pursuance of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) Ghana aimed at achieving universal basic education by the year 2015. The country suffered a huge setback in this aspiration when children were sent to school only to be denied normal and regular tuition because of teachers' egotism. Some students may have benefited from the anomaly, but it constituted an enormous overall education deficit for the country. Besides, no gain acquired through injustice may be counted as real gain.

Left unchecked, the practice of extra classes added impetus to the creation of a radical class system in the Ghanaian society (Policy Implementer B, personal communication, February 12, 2010). Education was gradually becoming the preserve of the well-to-do. In a system where poor and disadvantaged children were deprived of adequate tuition, there was no way even the brightest among them could compete with

peers favored by the benefits of the only effective schooling offered—extra classes. The general disorder and indiscipline created by the growing stranglehold of extra classes was a cause of worry for all who had the overall education interests of the country in perspective.

Disorder and indiscipline. In normal ordinary times, most schools in Ghana suffer some measure of chaos and disarray due to any number and kinds of reasons. The main reason is loss of time to various activities during the school day and school year. School leadership is often challenged to find solutions to the shortfalls created by such time loss. Other challenges are posed by situations of inadequacy which frequently leave school administration scrambling to improvise and make do with whatever is available.

What no school needed, in addition to this, was the kind of disorder and indiscipline generated by the unprecedented and unfettered practice of extra classes in many schools. This situation of disorder and indiscipline was evident in the activities of both students and teachers. The policymakers complained that "The use of staff bungalows and classrooms [for extra classes] not only prevented staff and students from the proper use of these facilities but also affected maintenance of discipline in the schools" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995b, p. 1).

This situation was created by both the extent of the practice of extra classes and the growing disregard for regular classes and the normal school program. Teachers planned their day with extra classes in the forefront of their considerations; regular classes took the backseat. While some teachers absented themselves from regular classes in order to give extra classes elsewhere, others showed up for regular classes only to

impress upon students the need to patronize the extra classes to be held later in the day. Students responded appositely by either staying away from regular classes or coming in to sleep or disturb during regular classes, comfortable in the anticipation of good instruction later in the day. The data left no doubt that inadequate, or lack of, supervision was mainly to blame for this impasse which enabled parochial interests to hijack the education system.

"Blackmail." The best description for the conundrum visited upon the Ghana education system, as described above, may be summed up in one word used by the then Minister for Education, in declaring the banning of extra classes—"blackmail" (Quianoo, 1995, p. 1). The Minister referred to "this practice where teachers shift actual teaching to private classes, [which, he said] has deepened the blackmail tendencies by some teachers (Quianoo, 1995, p. 1). Although the Minister leveled the accusation pointedly at teachers, the data showed that all who contributed to the situation just described were also guilty of blackmail.

There was blackmail in the commercialization of education, since the poor were held at ransom. There was blackmail in the injustice and inequity thereby created, as all such situations are wont to do. There was blackmail in the disorder and indiscipline that abounded, since it denied students the right conditions for acquiring proper and quality education.

School authorities who looked the other way while extra classes flourished on their watch, contributed to the blackmail of students. For their part, the ways in which teachers blackmailed students were diverse and grave. They withheld their best effort

from their regular teaching assignments, reserving it for those students who attended and paid for the extra classes they organized (Quianoo, 1995). They created an artificial shortage of regular school time within which to finish the syllabus, by a frivolous engagement of students during this time. Policy Implementer B made the point bluntly: "Those schools where you have this kind of thing, they don't teach. If you don't pay for these extra classes, no teaching. They go to the school, do a kind of teaching, but it's not effective" (personal communication, February 12, 2010).

By shifting the more serious and fruitful engagement of students to extra classes, the practitioners of extra classes created and sustained the perception that extra classes were a sine qua non. They exploited the anxiety of parents, who were cajoled into counting themselves favored that their wards were admitted to extra classes, no matter how much extra they had to pay for this "favor." Teaching to the test was a common practice at those extra classes. These and other activities were a real hijacking of the system. They were nothing short of blackmail, and needed to be countered by the education values represented by the policy.

Main education values targeted the policy. In what may be regarded as antidotes to the problems just discussed, the extra classes policy sought to foster or restore certain education goals threatened by the practice of extra classes. In response to the problem of commercialization of education, the policy emphasized accountability. As a cure for the injustice and inequity promoted by extra classes, the policy purported education equity and fairness. In an attempt to remedy the widespread disorder and indiscipline in the education system, the policymakers' sought to restore discipline and

orderliness. The problem of blackmail was addressed by drawing attention to student achievement and holistic education.

Accountability. Accountability is covered in in-depth treatment below, because that seems to be the core of the policy. Participants were clear and unanimous in their determination that the policy sought to foster accountability. In order to reverse the damage caused by extra classes, teachers, education institutions, and all policy implementers were reminded to do their job assiduously and responsibly.

Teachers were engaged to teach, and that is what they were expected to do. It was a contract between them and their employers to put in a certain number of hours of serious student engagement. This was expected to be done within the regular contact hours. If they did not engage students profitably during this time, they had no business organizing extra classes. In fact, it would be a misnomer to call them "extra," since the regular thing had not been done. Teachers were expected to be accountable as well to the school that engaged their services. Each teacher formed a team along with the rest of the teaching, and non-teaching, staff. If they took their services elsewhere when they were needed in the school, this was bound to affect team work and output. Teacher accountability also extended to parents and guardians whose children they were engaged to teach. In the final analysis, teachers owed a debt of accountability to the students under their tutelage.

The policy reminded the school leadership about their responsibility "as first line supervisors to ensure that school time is fully utilised in strict pursuance of the school time" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995a, p. 1). School time was to be used productively

and accountably, with firm adherence to the timetable and curriculum. Regional and district education directors were to ensure compliance with the directives of the policy.

Education equity and fairness. Participants identified the need to protect all students from the onslaught of the exploitative extra classes as one of the leading goals of the policy. In particular, the policymakers aimed at creating a level field for all students. By intent, the policy targeted education equity and fairness. By directing the ban at "the growing tendency of certain teachers who organised special classes outside the normal classroom teaching and charged exorbitant fees" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995b, p. 1), the policymakers intended a clampdown on a practice that tended to exclude the poor. Even though policymakers could only flex their muscle where they had leverage, and could not hope to stop extra classes everywhere, it was a valiant attempt to afford equal opportunity for all Ghanaian children to exploit their full potential.

Discipline and orderliness. From my analysis of the data, many people would have tolerated extra classes if they were conducted in a more orderly and disciplined manner. As it was, there was near chaos in many schools and absolute chaos in some others. Many school headships had difficulty keeping the lid on what was going on in their schools. The policy documents "observed that there were several abuses to the use of school facilities, such as classrooms, laboratories, libraries and textbooks and disruption of sports and games, due to the excessive use of teachers' and students' time for extra classes" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995b, p. 1). On the strength of this observation, the policy tried to restore discipline and order by attacking the root of the problem—unregulated extra classes.

The serving educationists who participated in this research insisted that the policy was not against extra classes per se, but the way they were organized. However, this understanding was not borne out by the policy texts. The first policy document banned all extant forms of extra tuition, namely "vacation classes, remedial classes and special classes in Public Schools" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995a, p. 1). The second policy document lifted the ban on vacation and remedial classes (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995b). The same document advised that "Detailed guidelines for running remedial and vacation classes can be obtained from the GES" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995b, p. 1). In the third policy document, reference was again made to the guidelines for approving and monitoring "remedial and vacation classes in schools" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995c, p. 1). The next paragraph reads: "Your attention is being drawn to the directives that Extra Classes organised by individual teachers or groups of teachers for students in school premises for which fees are charged remain banned" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995c, p. 1). The policy texts made specific reference to the systemization of vacation and remedial classes, but not to systematization of the banned extra classes. Significantly, the retired educationist participants made no such claim, either.

Student achievement. The second policy document complained that the unchecked activities of some teachers involved in the practice of extra classes were "virtually holding parents and students to ransom and to the neglect of normal classroom teaching" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995b, p. 1). As a consequence, school time was not productively utilised. If anything at all, only those students who joined the craze of

extra classes, arguably, drew some benefit. It cannot be denied that extra classes had its beneficiaries, as Policy Implementer B pointed out: "Well…as I said, the schools that have managed to flout the ban and sort of found a way of continuing the extra classes, are doing better than those which have not been able to circumvent the policy" (personal communication, February 12).

However, it was uncertain that all schools and teachers delivered on the publicized gains of extra classes, because, in some cases, "it was just bringing together students or pupils, and then filling the time anyhow and collecting money from them" (Policymaker A, personal communication, February 23, 2010). A headmaster expressed similar skepticism when he said that "too many extra classes, contrary to helping students to prepare adequately for their examinations, rather denied them enough time to study" (*Ghana News Today*, 2005, p. 1). Policymaker A was right when he asserted that "if during this normal classes time the teachers would work and ensure that the proper thing is done, there'd be no need for any extra classes" (personal communication, February 23, 2010). Participants agreed that the policy, if well implemented, would have positive effects on student achievement. By banning a practice whose benefits were suspect, lopsided, and parochial, the policy, therefore, sought the enhancement of student achievement for all, and the offer of a more holistic education.

Holistic education. The blackmail tendency inherent in the extra classes regime was evidenced by its stranglehold that stifled student achievement, and also by its constricted approach to education. Education was being made out to be no more than an exam-passing craze. In his press statement to publicize the policy, the Minister for

Education linked examination irregularities to the practice of extra classes: "Examination leakages are promoted with a view to giving advantage to only students who avail themselves of extra classes as several of the teachers of extra classes are examiners of the West African Examinations Council" (Quianoo, 1995, p. 1). This anomaly both contributed to education stratification and detracted from holistic education.

Schooling was narrowed down to a purely academic pursuit. The exaggerations of the extra classes regime left little room for other aspects of the formation of the young in school. The second policy document, therefore, justified the ban of the practice because of, among other things, the "disruption of school programmes, such as sports and games, due to the excessive use of teachers' and students' time for extra classes" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995b, p. 1). Both students and teachers were, thereby, denied the opportunity to relax and recreate themselves after the school day. The healthy culture of homework and private study by students was sacrificed. Teachers who taught in regular school time and extra classes were left with little time for research or professional self-improvement, and gradually lost effectiveness. It is no mean task to ensure holistic education in schools anywhere. However, in Ghana, the spread of extra classes made it an even more daunting endeavor. Yet another challenge was posed by the comprehensive education reform of 1987.

Contribution of the 1987 education reform

Ghana's 1987 education reform, elaborated in Chapter Two, had important and far-reaching consequences that are outside the scope of this study. Insofar as this discussion is concerned, the contribution of the reform to the emergence and sustenance

of extra classes is of interest. Participants in this study were divided in their evaluation of the reform's relation to extra classes. The serving educationists who granted interviews in the study refrained from blaming the reform, while the retired educationists identified direct and important contributions of the reform to the phenomenon of extra classes. However, even the serving educationist participants dropped unguarded remarks that belied their official position. This was only to be expected. The unwillingness of serving education officials to give the reform a bad name was understandable. The reform was introduced by the then NDC government, the same government now back in power, after two four-year terms in opposition. When the reform was introduced, it looked like an imposition because it did not tolerate much criticism. Education officials knew better than to stick out their necks in public denigration of a policy they did not (fully) support.

The data led me to believe that the reform did indeed contribute to the occurrence of extra classes. Other researchers have arrived at similar conclusions. Adjei (2003) contended that "This idea of intensive and extensive extra classes was not in place before the SSS concept (p. 47). For my part, I accepted the evidence that Government authorized the offer of extra classes in schools to help students make up their grades after the mass failure of the first batch of candidates in the newly introduced senior secondary school certificate exams (SSSCE). The announcement of the results, in May 1994, revealed that only 3.9% of the students had passed. To assuage the general apprehension and concern among parents, students, and educators, the Ministry of Education mandated that all schools readmit senior secondary school graduates who had performed badly into their former schools and give them extra teaching to enable them re-write the examinations.

This was a provisional emergency relief measure, but it soon became endemic. Once introduced, extra classes took root and abuses soon set in.

To begin with, the massive failures were attributable to rushing into the reform without ensuring appropriate and adequate conditions. The reform was rightly ambitious in its wish to train students to be both academically sound and suitable for the job market, but both dreams were sacrificed in the premature implementation of the reform policy. The workshops and the instructors needed to inculcate the much touted skills were not in place when the reform took off and were not about to be provided either. At the same time, there was reduced space for imparting strictly academic knowledge.

For one thing, schools were inadequately staffed, while the syllabuses were found to be overloaded. "A fundamental weakness of the…system is that too many subjects are taught at the Primary and JSS levels, and poorly taught at that, owing to shortages of qualified teachers and materials" (Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports, 2004, p. 12). To make matters worse, the transition to the new education system created a huge backlog of junior secondary school students. Clearing the backlog meant pushing students through the mill of education in reduced time. The graduating examinations were taken in April-May, instead of July-August. Hence, instead of the purported three years for the JSS program, the program was reduced by about three months, without a downward revision of the syllabus.

I also accept the evidence that the overloaded syllabuses and curricula introduced by the overambitious reform provided a reasonable excuse for extra classes. A committee set up to review the reform—the De Heer-Amissah Committee of 1994—recommended a

significant shedding of the excess curricular load. In response to this hard fact, the serving educationists pointed out that there was now enough school time to cover the syllabuses. They insisted that it was a question of improper use, rather than shortage, of school time. To this rebuttal, one may be right in observing that the damage had already been done.

In light of the foregoing observations, it was not surprising that many parents nursed deep distrust of the reform. Some parents rushed their underage children to try and write the exit exams under the old education system, i. e. the GCE "O" and "A" Levels, before the system was faced out under the 1987 reform. To be able to achieve this, extra classes were organized for the underage children. Teachers were assigned the huge task of preparing them for these exams. This also made a significant contribution to the blossoming of extra classes.

The data suggested that the timing of the proliferation of extra classes was not accidental. At the time that the deficits of the 1987 education reform were being felt most keenly, extra classes were in full bloom. It was then that the term "extra classes" appeared in Ghanaian education parlance, as the retired educationist participants contended: "Yes, in those days we even called them remedial classes, we didn't call them extra classes. The extra classes terminology or designation came, in fact, during the reforms" (Policy Implementer B, personal communication, February 12, 2010, corroborated by Policy Implementer C, personal communication, February 9, 2010). The practice of extra tuition in the form of remedial and vacation classes is not new to the Ghana education system. However, the phenomenon that culminated in the imposition of

the ban on extra classes was unprecedented, and inextricably linked to the 1987 education reform.

Apart from blaming teachers, the serving educationist participants also pointed to the opening of many schools as a reason for the proliferation of extra classes. This is a valid reason that is examined below under a review of adequacy considerations. However, the data leave no doubt as to the contribution of the reform to the proliferation of extra classes. A strong perception clinging to the reform was that students could no longer go through schooling the way they always did, that is, without recourse to extra classes. A fuller picture of the provenance of extra classes may be gained by a cursory look at data through the structural dimension.

Structural Dimension

Data at the structural dimension focused on the policymakers and policy implementers. It was not directly within the scope of this study to unravel the structural wherewithal of the Ministry of Education and the Ghana Education Service (GES). Nor did I intend to scrutinize the relational dynamics between the two bodies, and between them and the education policy implementation machinery in the Ghana education system. A few pertinent observations would suffice.

The Ministry of Education was the political arm of the education service, and drove education policy, following the philosophy and vision of the ruling political party. The Minister for Education and his/her deputies were generally political appointees. Even though they were usually educationists, they were primarily politicians. The setup of GES, on the other hand, was less political, at least in theory. The Education Ministry and

GES were the education policymakers. GES was more directly charged with policy implementation.

The policy on extra classes involved both bodies. The first and third of the three documents of the policy (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995a, 1995c) carried signatures from the office of GES, while the second document (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995b) was signed by the Minister for Education. This testified to collaboration between the two policymaking setups.

It did not always happen, however, that there was smooth collaboration between the Ministry of Education and the GES. It may well have depended on who is running the show. The Minster for Education who oversaw the enactment of the extra classes policy had a somewhat autocratic style, as Policy Implementer B explained: "Actually, in those days, Harry Sawyer, the then Minister of Education, was fond of coming to give…edicts about education…He used to blast people on the air and go away. Yes" (personal communication, February 12, 2010). Such a style was unlikely to foster collaborative relationships that would elicit the best input from all parties. The data revealed signs of friction and disconnect between and among the policymakers and policy implementers. For example, the data let slip evidence of buck passing between the Ministry and GES. It did not surprise me to observe such mutual finger-pointing between the two policymakers in their effort to explain away the policy implementation lapses. Data at the technical dimension threw more light on the difficulties encountered by the policy.

Technical Dimension

The technicalities and nitty-gritty behind the enactment of the policy on extra classes were outside the direct focus of this study. All the same, the technical dimension had a bearing on the impact of the policy, which held center stage in the study. The data revealed that certain systemic failures in the Ghana Ministry of Education and the Ghana Education Service affected the implementation of the policy, hence its impact.

The serving education officers who participated in the research were anxious to leave the impression that the two bodies that managed the country's education system, did what was needed to ensure the effective implementation of the policy. However, my own assessment of the said efforts, as well as submissions by the interviewed retired education officers, indicated that these efforts did not go far enough. In the first place, it was doubtful that enough consultation was done in the process of formulating the policy. Policy Implementer B, who was then a Regional Director of Education asserted that he learnt of the policy for the first time from the press statement given by the then Minister for Education. According to this participant, the Minister was wont to make such announcements, to the point that he was no longer taken seriously (Policy Implementer B, personal communication, February 12, 2010).

This lack of consultation, and the seeming suddenness of the enactment of the policy, did not augur well for the policy's implementation. As the data showed, there was rebellion on the part of some implementers. Many other implementers did not understand the policy's intent, and so could not be counted on to help the policy as effective collaborators. Both groups of policy implementers could have been helped by adequate

formation of the policy, and by efficient and sustained monitoring and supervision. This did not happen.

Indeed, as demonstrated in this case and many others, ineffective supervision seems to be the Achilles heel of the Ghana education system. This problem related closely to the general malaise in Ghana where policymakers split hairs and came out with great policies, which then joined the collection of other great, unimplemented policies. They soon assumed the fate of other nine-day wonders that were hailed for a short while and then were left to gather dust on shelves. Some policy documents disappeared altogether, as was the case with the policy on extra classes, while the system moved on to formulation of other policies doomed to the same destiny. Inadequate resources and other popular rationalizations notwithstanding, the education system needs to find ways of operating and effectively implementing its policies. Failing this, otherwise good policies, like the extra classes policy, will be unsuccessful in making the desired impact.

Impact of the Policy: Constituentive Dimension

Data, at the constituentive dimension, were adduced to address the second research question. The data reviewed the general impact of the policy and then the specific ways in which it impacted Northern Ghana. In Chapter Two, I applied the theoretical framework of education stratification to demonstrate the radical differences between Northern and Southern Ghana. These differences had a bearing on the way the policy impacted the different constituencies in the country.

General Impact: Gainers and Losers

The Ghana education policy of 1995 was not without its share of ambivalence. Its controversial nature drew both hate and applause. As might be expected, it was not easy to get all stakeholders to understand and accept the intended goals of a policy. Part of the difficulty in getting all stakeholders on board a particular policy was the fact that some stood to gain by the policy, while others profited less, or lost outright. This explained why the policy process was attended by, sometimes, intense lobbying by interest groups. The hue and cry, all over the country, about the practice of extra classes, and over their eventual ban amply testified to the general impact of both the practice and the policy that banned it.

The data left no doubt that greed and unprofessional behavior of some teachers gave impetus to the widespread practice of extra classes. That being an established fact, such teachers stood to lose by the policy. There were other culprits as well. Some schools thought it was a good idea to allow extra classes to go on unhindered, the perception being that their students were deriving some benefit from the practice. Such schools were likely to have an unfavorable attitude toward the policy. There were also parents who were hostile to the policy because of their positive perception of the benefits of extra classes. Finally, students who considered extra classes to be helpful in the attainment of their goals, mainly success in examinations, were unreceptive of the policy.

The data established quite clearly that the practice of extra classes favored the rich, and hurt the poor. Hence, reception of the policy would be expected to relate to socioeconomic conditions. At the macro level, this was reflected along the contours of

the stratifications outlined in Chapter Two, particularly the north-south disparities. The data showed that the policy had a more acquiescent reception in the North than in the south of the country. Generally, the South showed a more reluctant acceptance of the policy. Indeed the policy was largely ignored. Then, in a phenomenon tantamount to a repackaging or sidestepping of the policy, school administrations in the South enlisted the support of PTAs to raise needed funds to put in place extended school days. This arrangement unwittingly allowed the South to hold on to its position of education advantage. In the North, this did not happen, and so the policy created a different impact on that part of the country.

Impact on Northern Ghana

The following discussion of the specific impact of the extra classes policy on Northern Ghana is advanced in two progressions. First, the impact of the very practice of extra classes is highlighted. Apart from impacting education and socio-politico-economic factors, the practice also had a bearing on existing stratifications. This review helps to put into relief the impact of the ban imposed on those special extra classes.

Impact of the Practice of Extra Classes

The data revealed that the effects of the practice of extra classes were felt all over the country. In the form that they occurred, extra classes had generally negative effects. The brunt of the situation was borne by already disadvantaged students and communities. Notable among the sufferers were the students and schools in Northern Ghana, as borne out by the following highlights.

Education factors. The data established beyond doubt that the practice of extra classes destabilized the education system in Ghana, and generally impacted negatively on the system. In the North, the practice was not as widespread as it was in the South, being confined mainly to schools in urban centers. Many northern students, therefore, felt frustration as they heard about the practice everywhere else in the country. They felt cheated and handicapped, and many travelled to the South and urban places in the North to avail themselves of the extra instruction on offer during holidays.

Indeed, because of the abuses, like teaching to the test, extra classes succeeded in presenting themselves as the panacea to students' academic problems. This deepened the despondency among students who had no access to this disordered and skewed system of academic success. Teachers in most rural parts of Northern Ghana had no inducement to organize extra classes because they would not get enough paying students to make them worthwhile. According to Policy Implementer C, extra classes did not succeed well in many Northern schools "because parents would not pay; and they would not pay, not because they don't want to pay, but because it's simply beyond their means" (Policy implementer C, personal communication, February 9, 2010). Besides, after the policy banning extra classes, the headmasters of schools in Northern Ghana took the ban seriously, until they realized that the practice was continuing in the South, and that their own students were performing ever more abysmally.

Socio-politico-economic factors. The history of socio-politico-economic deprivation of Northern Ghana, as reviewed in Chapter Two, continues to take its toll today, especially in the sphere of education. It is a situation that is mirrored in the way

Northern Ghana has responded to national policies, and in the way such policies have impacted that part of the country. Underprivileged areas like Northern Ghana may be regarded as the weak links in the national chain.

When extra classes took hold in the Ghana education system a situation was created which could best be described as survival of the fittest. Being the unregulated phenomenon that it had become, the extra classes regime had no way of reckoning with the socio-politico-economic disparities in the country. In the scramble, it was easier for the more advanced populations of Southern Ghana to weather the onslaught of extra classes. They were able to ride the waves, joining the bandwagon of the practice, even as they had cause to deride it. It had become business as usual, as often happens in Ghana when people adjust to anomalies in the system. In the unfolding drama, many northern students were helpless bystanders. Their unlettered parents had no idea what was happening. Their education and political leaders, once again, were left without the leverage to change the tide.

Stratifications. One obvious consequence of the extra classes regime was that it created uneven conditions for student achievement. It was a practice that reserved its rewards only for those students who were willing and able to satisfy its egotistic monetary demands. Put in the blunt expression of Policy Implementer B, it was a practice that promoted "a class system. It means that, if you don't have money, you cannot be educated" (Policy Implementer B, personal communication, February 12, 2010).

At the national level, unregulated extra classes were slowly but surely deepening the existing stratifications. The poor were further impoverished when they complied with

the extra fees for extra classes. Education stratification intensified as a two-tier education system developed for those who had access to extra tuition and those who were left out. A broader manifestation of this was observable in the north-south stratification amply described in Chapter Two. The foregoing highlights add depth in appreciating the impact of the policy that banned the notorious extra classes.

Impact of the Policy Banning Extra Classes

Policies have their intended consequences and also unintended consequences. The intended consequences are those anticipated, directly intended, or desired by the policymaker. Even though serendipitous occurrences are not ruled out, unintended consequences are usually negative or undesirable outcomes that attend the policy as offshoots. The impact of the policy under investigation will be examined from the perspective of its intended and unintended consequences.

Intended consequences: Expert and policymaker perspectives. It would seem that the policy on extra classes was thrust upon the Ghanaian education scene without much warning. The apparently hasty enactment of the policy gave reason to question whether it was sufficiently thought through. One school of thought held that it was hurriedly passed to score political points, since it ostensibly responded to the people's affliction by the burdens of extra classes (Policy Implementer B, personal communication, February 12, 2010). Whatever incongruities may have occurred in the policy process, it was clear that the policymakers had their anticipations about the policy. From the education values of the policy discussed above, two main intended consequences stood out: creation of equal education opportunity for all Ghanaian

children, as well as maximizing their education achievement. These intended consequences are examined with particular reference to Northern Ghana.

Equal education opportunity. As noted above, the practice of extra classes, fueled as it was by financial considerations, further reduced the ability of the impoverished North to compete. Most northern students were, once again, left behind as the rest of the country moved ahead, reaping whatever merits the extra classes had to offer, both before and after the ban. As Policy Implementer C pointed out, this was reflected in the SSSCE examination results.

The policy on extra classes was, therefore, intended to address this imbalance. The policy mentioned specifically the commercialization of education, the prohibitive fees charged, and the blackmail propensity identified with the practice (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995b; Quianoo, 1995). These were characteristics that denied equal access to education services. By eliminating these distortions, the policy aimed to provide education opportunities that would benefit all fairly and equitably. In the view of participants, the policy sought to establish a level playing ground for all students by eliminating extra classes. The streamlining and regulation of extra classes and extra fees was a regulatory addendum to the policy that is discussed below.

Enhanced education output. The data revealed that the practice of extra classes accounted for much of the disorder and indiscipline evidenced in many Ghanaian schools. Besides, it greatly reduced, or totally removed accountability considerations from education delivery in the country. In the ensuing chaos, student achievement was

reduced to bookish learning and examination-passing coaching. Consequently, holistic education dropped out of the vision and aspirations of schools and students alike.

Participants asserted that such a situation could not be expected to continue. Government needed to reclaim control over the education system and re-establish a conducive environment for effective teaching and learning. There was need to restore respect for the school program by administration, teachers, and students. It was necessary to ensure better time management and accountability by all concerned. All this was meant to translate into a general enhanced education output for the whole country.

Notable benefits were expected for Northern Ghana and other deprived areas. With restoration of normalcy to the whole education system, students in these areas would no longer feel left behind. Teachers who pressurized the system for transfers to the South and urban areas in the North, where they could engage in extra classes, thus creating placement problems, would be expected to relax the pressure. The anticipated outcomes were better teacher retention in deprived areas and increased education benefits for students in those areas. The real test of the policy, however, did not reside in these commendable anticipated consequences, but in its unintended consequences.

Unintended consequences: Real repercussions of the policy on Northern Ghana. It was necessary to balance the foregoing expert and policymaker perspectives with those of policy implementers and recipients. The vision of the formulators of the extra classes policy appeared marred from the onset of the policy. The policy suffered from the serious implementation difficulties. These difficulties hounded the policy and rendered it ineffectual by creating undesirable unintended consequences. Insofar as

Northern Ghana is concerned, unintended consequences arose, not from the policy itself, but from the way it was implemented—or failed to be implemented—and the absence of necessary conditions to back up the policy.

Partial or non-implementation of the policy. It was an open secret that the banned extra classes were still in occurrence in Ghana, denials of officialdom to the contrary notwithstanding. Apart from the data from this research, I had personal experience of the practice and I had ample personal and direct testimony thereof, from teachers and students. Without necessarily agreeing with Policy Implementer B that "we have now more extra classes in Ghana than before" (personal communication, February 12, 2010), there was more than enough evidence to show that the promulgation of the policy did not eradicate the practice of extra classes. I agreed with Policy Implementer C when he said that "after two or three years of enforcement of the policy, everything broke down, because parents wanted to see results" (personal communication, February 9, 2010).

The policy started with a blanket banning of all extra tuition. Almost immediately, it was revised to allow for remedial and vacation classes. This somersault belied a flawed vision. It was a legislative overkill that put off many. An impression of inadequate planning was created by the hasty enactment of the policy, a flaw that became obvious at the implementation stage.

Policy Implementer B was probably right when he observed that people "simply ignored the regulation, and I believe the government too has turned a blind eye on it, you know; they cannot make sure that it is enforced" (personal communication, February 12,

2010). My own observation was that the enforcement of the policy had been ephemeral and half-hearted. The contention of Policy Implementer B that not even one teacher had ever been sanctioned specifically for violating the regulations on extra classes corroborated this.

Apart from non-implementation, I took issue with the way the original policy was compromised. Careful examination of evidence and the course of events in the country led to the conclusion that a huge compromise of the policy had taken place. After declaring a ban on extra classes, policymakers gave in to pressure and permitted schools to charge extra levies for the motivation of teachers to continue the practice. A directive from the Director General of the GES stipulated that "The Staff Incentive levy should not exceed ten Ghana Cedis (GH₵10.00) per student per term" (Ministry of Education-GES, 2009b, p. 1). A similar ceiling had been put on another levy: "Management has noted with dismay, the indiscriminate levying of parents and their wards with all manner and guises of fees. Management wishes to remind heads of schools that the GES approves a PTA levy of GH₵8.00 per child only" (Ministry of Education-GES, 2009a, p. 1). Before they charge other levies, individual schools "may re-apply for consideration on a case by case basis" (Ministry of Education-GES, 2009a, p. 1). The policymakers appeared content to regulate the fees chargeable, but the larger picture remained untouched.

The larger picture included how all these charges factored into the scope of affordability of students in all parts of the country. The imposed ceilings looked magnanimous and caring in respect of poorer students, but were they—really? The data showed that schools in the South had taken these extra fees in their stride, and had put in

place the extended school day, financed by staff incentive levies. On the other hand, schools in Northern Ghana and other deprived areas, operating with their restricted resources, had stuck with the regular school day. Hence, by not implementing the policy the way it was originally intended, a real tier system of education had been sanctioned by the policymakers.

Participant policymakers insisted that there was enough school time to cover the syllabuses, making extra classes unnecessary. It was strange, therefore, for the same policymakers to bow to pressure and sanction the collection of extra fees for extended school days. If one of the complaints against extra classes was the extra charges imposed on parents, did the concession granted by GES for the collection of motivation fees not amount to the same thing? In my opinion, a more healthy, and less stratifying, even if more difficult, approach would have been to continue to insist on the efficacious use of the available regular school time.

In any case, if policymakers, realized, contrary to their own declarations, that the curricula were overloaded, what stopped them from trimming them to fit into the regular school schedules? Policymakers bought the delusion created by interest groups that the regular time was not enough. This allowed the banned extra classes to metamorphose into an officially endorsed financially rewarding practice, a practice that hurts the poor much the same way that extra classes did. This unintended consequence rendered unsustainable the contention of Policy Implementer A that "at the end of the day, regulating it [the practice of extra classes] has helped parents in the northern part to support the schools to have this kind of classes for them" (personal communication, February 19, 2010). When

national policies did not take due cognizance of the full picture, especially the stratifying realities, they ended up aggravating the problem being addressed, albeit unintentionally.

Unaddressed stratifying causes. I was in full agreement with Policy Implementer C who did not agree with the claims of officialdom about the success of the policy: "We are just scratching the surface and leaving the substance…The poorer communities still suffer disadvantages because most of them have no teachers. They still have to depend on somebody from outside their immediate school environment to help them pass" (personal communication, February 9, 2010). Stratifications constituted big stumbling blocks to the success of many otherwise laudable policies. Individuals and communities in different stages of development, and at different levels of provision or privation, were differently challenged by any policy. This was unavoidable, but when the disparities were grave, their effects were debilitating.

The north-south disparity elaborated in Chapter Two helped understand how the existing stratifications tended to worsen education inequities in the country and obstructed the effective implementation of education policy. The policy on extra classes obviously departed from the ill-considered assumption of adequacy in the Ghana education system. The reality on the ground, however, was general inadequacy, only worse in the deprived communities. The policy overlooked the fact that, in the first place, the practice of extra classes was boosted by failures in the education system itself. Teaching and learning materials were inadequate. With shortage of qualified teachers, teachers who violated the policy could not be terminated, as their replacement would not be easy.

When it was considered that the problems experienced by the Ghana education system all over the country were many times worse in the more deprived areas, one began to get a feel of the magnitude of the problem in such areas. These issues needed to be addressed before the policy's enactment and implementation, or at least in tandem; otherwise the cynicism, such as was expressed by Policy Implementer C, about the adequacy of the policy to address the existing education problems (personal communication, February 9, 2010) could be justified. In like manner, Policy Implementer B hit the nail on the head when he proposed the elimination of education inequities as a better solution than that proposed by the extra classes policy: "We should rather aim at improving all schools so that they are there for everybody to take the children to. If that is done, all this craze about extra classes, banning and all that would be over" (Policy Implementer B, personal communication, February 12, 2010).

In sum, the unaddressed education inequities in Northern Ghana rendered the policy on extra classes, in itself, irrelevant, at least for that part of the country. Even if extra classes were completely eradicated from the Ghana education system, that alone would not close the north-south education gap. To most northern students, the policy made no difference. This was because, even though they needed extra instruction more than students elsewhere due to more serious challenges in their schools, they had no access to extra classes because they lacked the luxury of teachers and the ability to pay. The next two unintended consequences pertain to the whole country, and were thus shared by Northern Ghana as well.

Lost altruism. One of the causes often associated with the extra classes regime, as elaborated above, was teacher selfishness. The data suggested that, whereas in the past, teachers were wont to put in unpaid time for the benefit of their students, "now…the commitment of the ordinary teacher is not like it used to be. Any little thing that the teacher does, he wants to be paid for that" (Policymaker A, personal communication, February 23, 2010). This remark was made as a reason for the prevalence of extra classes. However, it was asserted that the ban imposed on the same extra classes had a similar effect.

Policy Implementer B's claim to this effect was not as farfetched as it might seem: "Well, as I said, the ban stopped everybody from doing extra work. Even the voluntary thing that we used to do when we were teaching …well, with the ban everything stopped" (Personal communication, February 12, 2010). Such a reaction is not inconceivable, in the errant logic of some offending teachers, even though it defied the logic of their profession. "Nobody thought that teachers would be so money-minded and would not want to help their children because of the ban" (Personal communication, February 12, 2010). It was a reaction that left little room for compromise: either we have our extra classes for extra pay, or we give no extra services whatsoever. This withdrawal of altruistic services by some teachers seemed an unfair price to pay by the whole education system. In fairness to teachers, however, the point should be made that it was not only in the teaching profession that attitudes toward work had changed.

Aggravated practice of extra classes. A similarly alarming unintended consequence was that the banning policy made the practice more insidious. This is

because the ban sent the practice underground, where it continued to operate in a more sinister manner, under "all sorts of names and times and places" (Policy Implementer B, personal communication, February 12, 2010). This situation could be compared to what has happened when drugs or alcohol retreat from banning legislations into dark recesses, where they have enjoyed even more disquieting patronage. Before proposing recommendations for possible redress of these problems linked to the policy, it is helpful to delve deeper by examining the core meaning of the policy.

The Heart of the Policy: A Matter of Accountability

As has been pointed out above, the policymakers worked with certain assumptions that turned out to be costly. Also the way they slammed the policy on Ghanaians took many by surprise. However, from the policymaker's perspective, all this should have been anticipated. From this standpoint, the policy may be viewed as nothing completely new, but a mere enunciation of existing regulations. The policy actually restated and articulated existing accountability requirements in the Ghana education system.

Accountability Requirements in Ghana

The government of Ghana, through its Ministry of Education and the Ghana Education Service (GES), set policy and accountability requirements in the public education system. The Ghana Education Service Council was the employer of all teachers in public schools. These teachers formed themselves into an association of teachers, known as the Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT). By agreement between the GES Council and GNAT, teachers in Ghana's public schools were bound by the

regulations of the "Conditions and Scheme of Service and the Code of Professional Conduct for Teachers" (Ghana Education Service [GES] Council, 2000).[30] Among other things, the provisions of this agreement dealt with matters of accountability, especially in the responsible and effective use of school time.

GES Council and GNAT accountability regulations. The GES-GNAT agreement and Code of Professional Conduct for Teachers contained accountability stipulations for schools and teachers. The ultimate concern of these stipulations was the achievement of students, who were also expected to conduct themselves accountably. Accountability requirements of schools, teachers, and students combined for the benefit of the student. Students would not enroll in school if schools and teachers did not assist them to realize their potential. Kemerer et al. (2005) have observed that help would otherwise have been sought elsewhere: "If traditional public schools falter, it is likely that policymakers will look to alternative delivery systems in the form of expanded school choice, privatization, and Web-based instruction" (p. 88).The challenge of accountability is therefore linked intimately to the *raïson d'être* of schools, teachers and students.

School accountability. School accountability was obliquely addressed by the GES-GNAT agreement. The concern for school accountability was reflected in prescriptions of teachers' duties and responsibilities. The "Conditions of Service" section of the agreement was scant on time-on-task regulations. It only provided that "working hours per day shall be as prescribed by law" and that "contact hours shall be as

[30] These regulations predate the 1995 policy, but I made use of the latest edition I could find.

determined by both parties, i. e. GES Council and GNAT"[31] (GES Council, 2000, Conditions of Service, Section 5, no. 1, i & ii). Considering the importance of school factors for student achievement, the absence of firm regulations on school accountability was a serious policy lacuna. Ghana's education policymakers needed to fill this legislative void to hold schools accountable toward parents and students, and the education system in general.

The policy on extra classes had some stipulations, albeit scant and indirect, on school accountability. It reminded school heads "of their responsibilities….to ensure that school time is fully utilised in strict pursuance of the school time; to regularly inspect teachers' notes, class assignments, students'/pupils' assessment records and to generally supervise classroom teaching" (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995a, p. 1). A perspective of school accountability in regard to time management was introduced by Policymaker A when he criticized "the number of activities we organize involving these pupils…They are too many, too many. And some of them are distractive" (personal communication, February 23, 2010). I have remitted to Appendix C a resumé of accountability stipulations in USA and California School Law, as an illustration for possible application in the Ghana education system.

Teacher accountability. Ordinarily, teachers in Ghana are trained and certified. However, other persons may enter the teaching service with other "qualifications, relevant teaching or industrial experience elsewhere and passing an interview where necessary" (GES Council, 2000, Conditions of Service, Section 1, no. 3). "Systematic in-

[31] Details are remitted to the "Code of Professional Conduct for Teachers."

service programmes as a means of improving the efficiency and effectiveness of employees" are also provided (GES Council, 2000, Conditions of Service, Section 5, no. 3).

The foundation for teacher accountability was laid in both the foregoing qualifications and concern for the good image of the Ghanaian teacher. This concern was underscored by the provision that "no person who has been convicted of a criminal offence shall be engaged into the [teaching] Service" (GES Council, 2000, Conditions of Service, Section 1, n. 9).[32] Teachers are bound by a code of professional conduct whose purpose is:

> to ensure that the conditions for effective teaching and learning are created and maintained in the country's education institutions as well as inspire public confidence in teachers to whom is entrusted the physical, mental, moral, religious and spiritual upbringing of the country's children. (GES Council, 2000, Code of Professional Conduct, Preamble)[33]

The proper use of school time also found prominence in the Code of Professional Conduct. Teachers are required to "report for duty punctually and in good time before school begins" (GES Council, 2000, Code of Professional Conduct, Part 3, Section 10, i), and a teachers' attendance record was to be maintained at each school. The Ghana

---

[32] The provision on criminal conviction applies even after engagement in the teaching service. Part 3, Section 34, of the Code of Professional Conduct, states: "A teacher who is convicted of a criminal offence involving fraud, theft or dishonesty or sentenced to imprisonment without the option of a fine shall be dismissed from the Service as from the date of his conviction."

[33] The "Code" further prescribed: "The standards of conduct generally required of any member of the GES would be leadership, selflessness, comportment, integrity, impartiality, fairness, and honesty in matters affecting work and status of the profession" (GES Council, 2000, Code of Professional Conduct, Part 2, Section 7, i).

Education Service required teachers to make themselves available fulltime during the school day, and to do the work for which they were paid:

> i. No teacher shall engage in private and personal conversation during class period when he is expected to teach or to supervise children at work or play.
> ii. No teacher shall trade or transact any private financial business on the school premises during school hours.
> iii. No teacher shall perform unofficial duties or activities during school hours without permission from the head of his institution. [34] (GES Council, 2000, p. 67)

These provisions may seem rudimentary or commonsensical, but they were necessary in the Ghanaian context. The use of cell phones during school time may need mention here, as a particular application of regulation no. i, above.

The Code of Professional Conduct for Teachers has provisions that pertain to the practice of extra classes for financial gain:

> 18. No teacher shall engage in any other employment including part-time teaching which will interfere with the performance of his official duties as a teacher without the consent of the prescribed authority.
> 19. i. No teacher shall collect any unauthorised monies from members of the Education Service or parents/pupils or the general public in the course of his official duties.
> ii. The Director-General or his representative shall approve all levies. (GES Council, 2000, p. 69)

Data from this research underscored the undermining of regular school time due to teachers' involvement in extra classes. I did not venture into an investigation of how far the above regulations were being enforced. It was obvious, however, that they tied in well with the policy on extra classes. Policymaker B indicated the link between these sets of regulations when he said, "We need to ensure that teachers are doing their normal

[34] Even when absent on duty, with permission, the following provision applies: "A teacher leaving the school for duty elsewhere shall inform his head of his whereabouts to facilitate his recall in an emergency" (GES Council, 2000, Code of Professional Conduct, Part 3, Section 15, ii).

work effectively. Then, beyond that, we may not even need an extra class, or a remedial class" (personal communication, February 26, 2010). The GES-GNAT regulations ought to prick the professional conscience of teachers who were tempted to shirk their regular duties in contravention of the stipulations of the policy.

Student accountability. The regulations on school and teacher accountability, as presented above, were geared toward the protection of the interests of the student, first and foremost. They were meant to create a conducive and enabling environment for effective teaching and learning. For their part, students were expected to conduct themselves accountably by good behavior and by applying their time and effort to study. Students who committed offences in violation of school or GES rules and regulations were punished with warnings, suspension, withdrawal from boarding house, or dismissal from the school, according to the nature and gravity of the offence, and the number of times it was committed by a particular student (Ghana Education Service [GES], 2004).

Lack of discipline in school was a big factor in the management of school time. If students were frequently late or absent themselves, they effectively reduced the amount of instructional time from which they could benefit. The data identified tardiness, truancy, absenteeism, and general lack of interest in regular classes, as one of the major problems created by the practice of extra classes. This affected their academic output and that of other students.

Students were required to give a good account of themselves academically if they were to advance upward on the education ladder. In Ghana, admission to the senior high school was based on good academic performance in the junior high school (Government

of Ghana, 2007a; Government of Ghana, 2007b). Starting from September 2005, qualified candidates were selected and distributed among the senior high schools nationwide, using a computerized system known as the Computerised School Selection and Placement System (CSSPS). Students who performed poorly found placement in low-rated senior high schools or not at all.

After three years of SHS, students took the SHS Certificate Examinations (SHSCE). For most SHS students, this was the exam of their lives—the exam that conferred the certificate which bore testimony to their worth as SHS graduates. The SHSCE was the ultimate test of how responsibly school time was managed by the school, by teachers, and by students. The policy on extra classes sought to draw attention to the attitude of schools, teachers, and students to the demands of accountability, and how it impacted student achievement and contributed to education stratification. In light of the foregoing discussions, a few recommendations may be offered.

Recommendations

As a policy study, the ultimate purpose of this research was to make recommendations founded on the analysis. This is in accord with McMillan and Schumacher (2006) when they said that "policy analysis evaluates government policies to provide policy-makers with pragmatic action-oriented recommendations" (p. 448). It is now time to see whether there was anything to be learnt from the data presented in Chapter Four and from the foregoing discussion and analysis. After studying a multifaceted policy like the one on extra classes, many recommendations suggested themselves. However, I focused on five pertinent issues that have important implications

for extra classes policy: the non-enforcement of laws and regulations, inherent problems that enhance extra classes, holistic education, teacher quality, and the challenge of the north-south education stratification.

Braving the Culture of Non-Enforcement of Policies

After analysis and reflection on the data from this research, I concluded that the main problem the policy encountered had to do not with the policy itself but with the way it was implemented. Enough was said above regarding lapses in the implementation of the policy. It is recommended, therefore, that policymakers should consider from the very start of the policy process how they intend to implement any particular policy. If they foresee insurmountable obstacles to the implementation of the policy it is advisable to deal with them before proceeding. What Cooper et al. (2004) said about reforms is true for policies as well: "Reformers often naively assume reforms will be faithfully implemented when the need for reform becomes obvious—yet studies of resistance to planned change efforts demonstrate the falseness of such assumptions" (p. 93).

The policy on extra classes was enacted with good intentions and objectives, but that alone was not enough. As Cooper et al. (2004) well observed: "Unfortunately, policies are often simply mandated, with little attention to issues arising during the implementation phase—almost as if saying it makes it so" (p. 88). The good purported by the extra classes policy seemed obvious to many, but the policy met with situations that made it look ineffectual and even ridiculous. People were brazen in their objections to the policy because they considered that it was not a genuine prescription to a genuine problem. As Policymaker B observed, "Any time you raise the issue of extra classes, you

have all sorts of debates coming up, some supporting it and some against it" (personal communication, February 26, 2010). Those debates and challenges dogged the policy from its promulgation to date, and tended to obstruct its implementation.

Analysis of the culture of non-implementation of laws, policies and regulations in Ghana was beyond the scope of this study. The main obstacles to policy implementation in Ghana, however, included the following: lack of political will to follow through; ignorance or/and insincerity about issues on the ground; inadequate resources to guarantee successful implementation; and over-politicization of issues, as people from the political divides assumed entrenched positions in the face of any policy, sacrificing the common good for their parochial political aspirations. These factors, among others, combined to create a conducive atmosphere for extra classes to thrive. This culture of non-implementation of policies needs to be addressed with determination, also by tackling the promoters of extra classes.

Addressing the Enhancers of Extra Classes

The data revealed that the enhancers of extra classes in Ghana were many. There were human factors and there were logistical and systemic factors as well. My contention and recommendation is that these enhancers of extra classes are appropriately and adequately addressed if the policy is to stand any chance of success. The following discussions look at the problem from different perspectives.

The perspective on illegal extra classes. The supporters and practitioners of the banned extra classes had their arguments. They have pointed to certain realities in the Ghana education system for justification of the practice. These included: the condition

that many Ghana schools found themselves in, need for more instructional time, and challenges presented by the 1987 education reform.

State of Ghana's schools. For some years now, political parties vying for power have assured the people of Ghana that they will make the eye sore of schools under trees a thing of the past. They also pledged to address other issues of inadequacy in the schools. Due to the sad fact that, in Ghana, there has often been a mismatch between political discourse and real action, these situations of inadequacy have remained in Ghana's schools. The link between this and the practice of extra classes was highlighted in a Ghana News Agency (GNA) report of Wednesday, 17 October 2007, titled "Parents express concern over state of schools" (p. 1). The report stated that parents of some primary and JSS schools had:

> expressed concern about classes being held under huts and trees and called on the authorities to help complete an abandoned school project. The parents, who also expressed misgivings about the pupils' academic performances have resolved to contribute towards organising extra classes and mock examinations to help improve the falling standards of education in the schools. (p. 1)

Unfortunately, this was by no means an isolated case of inadequacy in Ghana's education system.

Inadequacy of instructional time. Inadequacy of instructional time is often adduced to support the practice of extra classes. This issue has, however, remained contentious to date. Policymakers, in particular, were adamant that there would be enough instructional time, if only it were fruitfully utilized. Various factors detracted from instructional time and caused interruptions in school schedules and the academic calendar. They included sporting activities, student disruptive activities like strikes and

demonstrations, strikes by teachers, and natural disasters. Such interruptions jeopardized the smooth execution of the curriculum or syllabi for the school day, term or year (Adjei, 2003).

In my own interactions with education leaders, I got the impression that there was a genuine inadequacy of school time in the wake of the 1987 education reform. Subsequently, this problem was taken care of. I am therefore left with the conviction that the problem had more to do with management than insufficiency of school time. Hence, this particular argument for extra classes was more artificial than real, the difficulties created by the 1987 education reform notwithstanding.

Role of the 1987 reform. In looking at the development of the extra classes policy, earlier in this chapter, I examined the role of the 1987 education reform, insofar as it was linked to the occurrence of extra classes. Other researchers (Adjei, 2003; Sowah, 2003) identified the said reform as a significant factor contributing to the emergence of extra classes. It has been well noted that those uncertain times in Ghana's education history, introduced by the reform, witnessed not just the culmination of extra classes, but the escalation of private education services as well. These were measures introduced to supplement public education, and to shore up failing regular instruction in public schools. They were phenomena that led inexorably to the commoditization of supplementary teaching (Adjei, 2003). It is hereby contended that, unless policymakers stop playing the ostrich and acknowledge the new challenges relating to equity, adequacy, access, and participation, introduced by the 1987 education reform, policies similar to the extra classes policy will miss the mark on quality and holistic education goals.

Toward Holistic Education

Official justification for the 1987 education reform was that it was in response to criticism that Ghana's education was excessively academic and unrelated to the country's development and manpower requirements (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, 2004). The idea was to balance the faulted bookish schooling in the grammar school system with the inculcation of more practical skills. Paradoxically, however, the reform ushered in an era of untold vying for paper qualifications not necessarily backed by academic knowledge or practical skills. Offshoots of this phenomenon included the proliferation of extra classes which, as the then Minister for Education lamented in presenting the policy, greatly advanced exam malpractices as well (Quianoo, 1995). Moral standards were also affected, as cheating in exams and immoral behavior to gain favors were fiercely driven by the clamor for grades. This unfortunate approach to schooling, which became much pronounced in Ghana's secondary schools, now lodged itself in the country's tertiary institutions as well.

It became obvious that the reform introduced new maladies without necessarily curing the old ones. This assessment of the reform was attributable to its hasty and inadequate implementation (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, 2004). The new disease was an exam-passing craze, engendered by a phobia that gripped students, parents, and schools alike. Education stakeholders were faced with the challenge to evade failure. On the shifting foundations of the uncertain education reform, they did whatever they thought necessary for students to pass their exams, the resort to extra classes being one of those desperate efforts.

The Ministry of Education did not help matters when it started publishing, in the Ghanaian papers, the performance of the public senior secondary schools in the SSSCE. Some schools remained restrained, responding to the new education challenges by refining the use of school time. In the overwhelming majority of schools, however, things went haywire, with an explosion of extra classes that was difficult to control (Ministry of Education-GES, 1995a; Quianoo, 1995). There was no gainsaying about the need to de-emphasize assessment-driven schooling in favor of a more healthy, balanced and holistic concept of education. This required strict adherence to carefully fashioned school programs, which should cover the fundamental education values highlighted by curricular, extracurricular and extramural activities. Unless this is achieved, misguided practices like the one the policy sought to ban will continue to flourish.

Another aspect of holistic education is that it should prepare the young for their lives after school. Education misses the mark if it does not help the youth to effectively manage their time, their resources, and their lives in general. In Ghana, people complain about poor work ethic and unproductive attitude toward work, manifested in tardiness, idleness, and even absenteeism from work. Has it ever occurred to stakeholders that these habits and attitudes were acquired in school or at least their seeds sown in the education process? In particular, if education does not inculcate skills for lifelong learning, it is substandard. It has been said that the road to success is always under construction. Good education produces lifelong learners, and not just exam passers. To achieve this objective, a good starting point is the teaching profession itself.

Improving Teacher Training, Professionalism, and Remuneration

According to Stromquist and Monkman (2000), if schools are to meet their education goals of inculcating high cognitive and other skills in their students, they need to enlist the goodwill and cooperation of teachers, teachers who are not only well trained but highly motivated. Teaching is a profession, indeed a vocation. Not everyone can be a teacher, or a good teacher at that. Careful recruitment of would-be teachers is an important starting point.

Policymaker A, who must have known what he was talking about, was not reticent in his assessment of the current state of the teaching profession in Ghana. He observed that, "The people going into teaching go not because they love teaching [but because] they look on teaching as a place to make money" (personal communication, February 23, 2010). He was equally blunt in his assertion that "many of the teachers we have today are not people who should be in teaching. It's when people don't have anything to do then they go into teaching" (personal communication, February 23, 2010). Fortunately, this was not a blanket condemnation of all teachers in Ghana. You can tell from their fruits.

Having said that, teacher remuneration was definitely an important factor, since it affected the selection and training of teachers. Suitable compensation for teachers is a dicey issue that has defied satisfactory solution by governments, bedeviling the education service with discontent, threat of strikes, and actual strikes by teachers. The fact is that if teachers are poorly paid, the teaching profession will be a profession of last resort. Candidates who go into teacher training will not put their hearts into the training, and

those who graduate will probably not give of their best in the teaching field. Dr. Edward Mahama, a multi-time presidential candidate has often said that, in Ghana, people pretend to work and government also pretends to pay them. This may be the conundrum that has dogged the Ghana education service.

Teacher remuneration also affects teacher retention and deployment. Unsatisfactory salaries and conditions of service have given rise to disgruntled teachers who are constantly on the lookout for better paying jobs outside the teaching service. Those who have remained resist assignment or transfer to rural and disadvantaged areas where other burdens would be added to that of inadequate compensation. In particular, they would prefer urban and better endowed areas where they can earn extra income from extra classes.

The question has arisen, then, as to what constitutes adequate remuneration. I think there needs to be a balance between expectations of professional altruism or heroic selflessness, and the absolute satisfaction and wellbeing of the teacher. The grey area between the two extremes would be determined by the financial wherewithal of the country. Policymaker A expressed the unpopular opinion that, "There's no justification [for extra classes] in saying that your salary is not enough…Ghana is a third world country. You don't expect high salaries, as in other places" (personal communication, February 23, 2010).

By the same token, there was no justification in saying that high teacher salaries would upset the exchequer, due to the large number of teachers on government payroll. Teachers are in the same economy as other workers. Having said that, teachers need to

take careful note of criticisms relating to professionalism, output, and accountability that have often been raised to counter their agitation for higher pay. Teachers, and all concerned, also need to engage in sober and responsible reflection on Policymaker A's contention that "In any case, teachers' salaries, as compared to other government workers, we're far better off; forget about the fact that it's not enough" (personal communication, February 23, 2010).

Given the fact that the teaching profession may not be as lucrative as others, it is important that people considering that dignified profession carefully examine themselves for suitable natural endowments, proclivities, and interests. Good teacher training will build on these requisites. Good training is necessary for staffing schools with the right caliber of teachers. The ancient and noble teaching profession must uphold itself by high standards of professionalism. Quality professional training calls for good selection of candidates, even though unmet demand for teachers might open the doors of teacher training colleges too wide.

The problem of teacher quality and professionalism needs to be addressed *ab initio*—with teacher trainees. It is not easy to effect change in adults who have gotten used to certain ways of doing. That is why school reform often faces difficulties, for, as Cooper et al. (2004) contended, it challenges stakeholders'—teachers'—long held values and behavior patterns. "It questions their professionalism, and, by extension, their very self-concept and professional identity. It is no accident then that various school reform proposals have been more readily accepted by new teachers than veterans" (Cooper et al., p. 93). If a revolution were to take place in the Ghana education service, the place to start

from would be the teacher training colleges. For example, teacher re-certification regulation and enforcement could form part of the revolution.

The main recommendation, at the end of this tortuous discussion, is that Government-GES should take measures to improve teacher recruitment, training and retention by ensuring reasonable teacher satisfaction in terms of salary and other conditions of service. However, since it is not possible to give what one does not have, all parties must negotiate within the constraints of the economy, with due regard for fairness and equity. It is my view, though, that, at any point in time, both teachers and their employers must be mindful that they are bonded by legal contract to deliver, for as long as the employer-employee relationship remains valid. The issue of teachers and other school resources are brought to bear on the discussion on improving education in Northern Ghana, following.

Bridging the North-South Education Gap

The focus of this study is the impact of the extra classes policy on Northern Ghana. I made the point that national policies like this one need to reckon with the diversity in populations affected by the policy. Cooper et al. (2004) noted that, "because policymaking is an interactive process, one that is ongoing, changing, and contextual, it is important to understand how implementation under varying circumstances affects the way the policy is made and improved" (p. 126). Enough has been said already about the need to reduce disparities if the whole country is to experience faster and more balanced growth. Under the main recommendation that government must do all within its power to bridge the north-south education gap, two recommendations are presented as suggestions

about how this might be achieved, namely, dealing with factors related to stratification, and improving time management in Northern Ghana schools.

Dealing with stratifying factors. Bridging the north-south education gap cannot be done overnight. But it can be done conscientiously, purposefully, and resolutely. A good starting point is the removal of stratifying factors, such as those comprehensively explained in Chapter Two, and verified in the data. It should no longer be the case of northerners struggling to get a fairer deal, but rather the whole country, led by a level-headed government, coming to a frank realization about what bridging the gap means for the whole country.

For far too long, educated Ghanaians and opinion leaders of northern extraction have gone unheeded when they tried to prick the national conscience on this and related issues. Southerners who were currently in a position of advantage did not see why they should simply allow fellow citizens of the North to catch up or even draw close. This is a human failing verified in other parts of the world.

It is hereby recommended that government endeavor to create for the North needed enabling environments similar to those in other parts of the country. Every Ghanaian child deserves the best education that the country has to offer. The participant policymakers and the other serving education officials were vehement that it was not the 1987 education reform that created inadequacy in the system, but rather the desire of every community for schools. So my challenge is, "What is wrong with that desire? Do the children in the villages not have the same right to education as those in the cities?" The point was made that "in those days we had just a few schools in the North, and

people moved from all over [the North to attend them]" as against "today [when] every community, they want not only primary and junior high, they want a senior high school. So, at the end of the day, the teacher supply is less than the demand" (Policy Implementer A, personal communication, February 19, 2010). The point was made to look as if the quest of these rural folk for education for their children was to be faulted or condemned. If intended that way, it is a preposterous and condemnable attitude.

The attitude that the urban and the already advanced populations must have their needs and their wants met before the others are considered has inhibited the development of the whole country. It is time to skew the creation of conducive environments in favor of Northern Ghana and other deprived parts of the country, for the good of the whole country. Insofar as education is concerned, it is paramount that education equity, adequacy, access, and participation are greatly enhanced for the northern populations.

Equity, adequacy, access, and participation. In 1992, the Government of Ghana initiated a policy of cost recovery, aimed at reducing the financial burden on the state budget. Education was affected by this policy, as government sought to share education encumbrance with parents and other stakeholders. The consequences of this policy have been devastating for Northern Ghana, due to its constrained development. Like other poor and rural communities in the country, the northern communities suffered a serious drawback as they became further marginalized by their inability to contribute adequately towards ensuring quality education for their children. This brings into question the principles of education equity, access and participation envisaged by the first President and leaders of the country, and enshrined in the constitution.

Adequacy also remains a grave problem in Northern Ghana schools. Due to the generally harsh conditions there, the North is one of the most difficult-to-staff areas in the country's education system. Trained teachers, including northerners, prefer to work in other parts of the country. This trend has continued in spite of incentives offered by government and non-governmental organizations to teachers who agree to work in rural and deprived areas. It is another illustration of the need to look at the broader picture because inadequacies in the wider society have a powerful bearing on the school system, and contribute to education stratification.

However, there are situations of inadequacy created by the education system itself. The 1987 education reform introduced new subjects without the required supply of teachers and facilities including textbooks, workshops, classrooms, and dormitories. Those parts of the country with chronic issues of inadequacy were hit hardest. Owing to poor planning and inexcusable inefficiency—I certainly hope, not outright bad will—school supplies and school feeding grants often arrived late in the northern part of the country. When this happened, schools in the South opened and went on with teaching and learning while schools in the North asked their students to wait until school supplies were received. While hoping that these issues are things of the past, we can do more than hope. Policy Implementer C's assessment of the adequacy situation in the whole country was quite bleak: "There has never been any point in Ghana when we had sufficient textbooks and teachers in our classrooms, especially since the reforms were introduced. We started the reform with no textbooks. We were only given syllabuses" (personal communication, February 9, 2010). Government and education authorities need to ensure that persons

who toy with the education and the future of the country's children, especially those in deprived communities, are speedily removed. The need for prompt and appropriate action by authorities is an attitude that should characterize the general use of school time as well.

Improving time management in Northern Ghana. One stratifying factor, or rather a strong outcome of stratification, is poor time management. It is common knowledge that people are more laid-back in rural and more deprived communities, at least in Ghana. Also, there is a more relaxed commitment to schedules, and to work in general. This attitude is a serious drawback for education in these areas. The common experience is that, in these areas, the forty-hour school week, or eight-hour school day,[35] has often gone by without full and serious engagement of students. This happens because the said lackadaisical attitude has afflicted not just teachers, but also students, parents, and education supervisors as well.

This problem is engendered and aggravated by the constricted vision and limited aspirations imposed by the people's impoverished circumstances. It has nothing to do with their natural endowments; given extended horizons and empowerment, people from these areas have shown that they are capable of big dreams, and have used their time productively and competitively. The vicious pattern of poor time management, leading to poor productivity, to inhibited aspirations and possibilities, and back to poor time

[35] In fact, this target seems difficult to achieve in many Ghana schools, especially at the primary level. According to the World Bank and Asian Development Bank report of 2002, the Ghanaian school year amounts to some 33 weeks, and hence falls short of international standards. Besides, only around 20% of Ghanaian primary school children receive the basic five to six hours of schooling in a day (World Bank, 2002).

management, can indeed be broken. Once again, it is about the broader picture. Deprived populations need to take a hard look at their circumstances and seek ways of helping themselves out of this cycle of disadvantage.

However, the gravest responsibility lies with government and education authorities to institute or strengthen the mechanisms for better schooling in these deprived communities. Guidelines like Ghana's extra classes policy require suitable conditions to make them viable and meaningful. The data suggested that, due to dire situations of inadequacy in the education system, the policy made no sense, and people simply ignored it. Policy Implementer C was speaking for many when he said:

> If we had a good supply of textbooks and if schools met their teacher needs, I would support the policy, because whether you are in school A or school B, you would be taught by a teacher, you would have your textbook to read when the teacher is not teaching you, and if you don't do well, you would have nobody to blame but yourself. (personal communication, February 9, 2010)

The foregoing recommendations are geared toward that. The following wrap-up observations assess the status quo and suggest the way forward insofar as extra classes are concerned.

Concluding Observations

In these concluding observations, I want to make a brief but realistic assessment of the policy under study, and its significance in the current education dispensation. Ghana's 1995 education policy on extra classes will go down in the country's education history as one of the valiant interventions by policymakers in the Ghana system to restore order, protect education rights, and reduce education inequities. As such, these objectives were educationally sound.

However, the policy is probably condemned to the doldrums of unfulfilled dreams. Its hasty demise could be foretold by several factors. The way it was hurriedly thrust upon the education scene spoke of a half-baked policy process. Confirmation of this came within three months when the hasty work underwent major revision, as noted in Chapter Two. But it was in the implementation of the policy, or lack thereof, that the policy invited its firm exclusion from the echelon of notable education policies in Ghana. What then is the current status of the policy, and is there a way this condition could be remedied?

Extra Classes: An Unresolved Issue in Ghana

The extent of the practice of the banned extra classes as of this writing cannot be determined with exactitude, but is known with certainty that the practice is continuing despite the ban (EduNet Forum, 2004, Policy Implementer B, personal communication, February 12, 2010; Policy Implementer C, personal communication, February 9, 2010). After some three years of adherence to the policy, practices reverted to the status quo ante. This is because, apart from the enticements it held out to teachers and students alike, the whole issue of extra classes remained contentious. Ghanaians were divided in their attitude toward the forbidden extra classes. Indeed, the majority of Ghanaians outside the teaching service were not even aware of the banning measure. Uninformed parents were under the impression that the extra classes they paid for were just part of ordinary schooling and therefore complained only about the general cost of educating their children.

There also seemed to be a disconnect between policymakers and realities on the ground. Policymakers were the only "strangers" in Ghana who were seemed convinced that the implementation of the policy had gone well and that the practice had stopped. They conveniently ignored the logistical handicaps and systemic failures that impeded effective implementation of the policy. For their part, most Ghanaians knew that if they sent a child to school, they needed to think of the regular school expenses and fees for extra classes as well. Not much changed after January 1995. It was no surprise, therefore, that any time the issue of extra classes came up, it aroused a cacophony of discordant reactions.

Discrepant Response to the Policy on Extra Classes

The data showed that the extra classes policy was not well received by the general population of Ghanaians. The discrepant response, or lack of response, to the policy was due to misinformation, misunderstanding, and outright ignorance of the policy, from the very beginning and to date. Following is an illustration of the problem. As recently as April 16, 2009, the National President of CHASS lamented that "some teachers had taken advantage of the absence of guidelines streamlining the practice to organise extra classes to charge exorbitant fees" (Atagra, 2009b, p. 1). In my opinion, there was no regulatory lacuna here, for the extra classes policy of 1995 was enough guide to halt the abusive practice.

But the surprise did not end there. The CHASS President seemed unsure of the 1995 policy when he cited the Minister for Education as his link to the policy: "As the Minister indicated in the Times story yesterday, some policy guidelines were drawn on

this issue in the 1990s" (Atagra, 2009b, p. 1). He then went on to express support for "the call by the Ghana National Association of Teachers for a national conference to streamline the practice," and asked that "the issue should be subjected to national consultative discussion" (Atagra, 2009b, p. 1). GNAT had claimed, in the Times story referred to, that teachers were within their rights by organizing extra classes for a fee, since they were using their own time and resources, as other people do to make extra income. Obviously, this was the argument they would tout at the proposed national conference. This development left me disquieted about the prospects of extra classes in Ghana.

My dismay was further heightened when a highly placed official at the Ghana Education Service declared to me that what I was researching was not a policy as such, but a mere intervention by the government to address a problem. It showed the level of seriousness accorded that particular intervention to which the documents of the policy assigned that designation. When I put this to Policymaker A, he responded defiantly, but appropriately:

> We are in Ghana. There's freedom of speech...What do you mean by it's your right to have extra classes? So you should disrupt school program? If you want to have your extra classes, fine, you go to town, form your school, have extra classes…As long as there are people in town, and they want to come, nobody has anything against it. All we are saying is that, in a school there are rules and regulations. And in the school setting, we do not want these things to happen, for many good reasons…Therefore if you want to do anything to supplement your income it must be legitimate, it must be something that is legal, and we don't think we should sit down for people to exploit the students and their parents.

I fully agree with this position. But is anyone listening? Is GNAT listening? Is CHASS listening? Are Ghanaians listening? And who is to ensure compliance? So what is the future of extra classes in Ghana?

Future of Illegal Extra Classes

The future of extra classes remains nebulous. Extra classes will persist in Ghana unless there is concerted and comprehensive tightening of so many loose ends in the education system. Other factors that encourage extra classes also need to be addressed. Apart from Government-GES inertia, there are many parents who are aware of the illegality of the practice but are afraid to speak up for fear of exposing their wards to victimization. If Policy Implementer C is right in asserting that "people…simply ignored the regulation [policy], and I believe the government too has turned a blind eye on it" (personal communication, February 9, 2010), then we can expect the practice of extra classes to continue for a long while yet.

On the other hand, extra classes will outlive their usefulness and appeal if the education system remedies its problems and functions the way it should. Extra classes would be unnecessary if regular instructional time were standardized to relate to the curriculum, and, as Policy Implementer C affirms, "if teachers applied themselves adequately in the classroom, and we had teachers for all the subjects in the schools, and there were sufficient textbooks for all the students" (personal communication, February 9, 2010). There will continue to be recalcitrant teachers who may want to continue the lucrative practice, but they would have little demand for their services. Then it would be possible to agree with Policymaker A when he claimed that "it's not a popular decision to

have extra classes" (personal communication, February 23, 2010). For now, the practice has remained in vogue.

Still looking ahead, remedial classes will continue to be needed and offered within school time, to make up for time losses and to assist students who require extra help. Vacation classes will continue to be organized by schools for the same purpose, and especially to prepare final-year students for imminent examinations. Both types of extra instruction are envisaged by the policy. When well organized and supervised, such extra teaching is helpful and a good use of students' time. Even if extra remuneration is paid to the teacher for this extra service, and indeed it should be, it would be money well spent. To reduce the prospect of education stratification and undue hardship on parents, however, it would be necessary to ensure that extra fees are within the means of people in any particular area. Government may need to pay supplements in some areas to make such remuneration to teachers more equitable. If any prospects of salvaging the policy exist, then such measures need to be considered.

Policy Evaluation, Revision, and Reenactment

The laudable objectives of the extra classes policy should not be abandoned due to non-implementation of the policy. I am convinced that the Ghana education system would benefit from the reenactment of the policy, after due evaluation and possible revision. The following discussion centers on these issues.

The policymaking process is not complete until the policy has been implemented, evaluated, and if necessary, revised (Cooper et al., 2004; Yanow, 2000). This is because, even though policy analysis is often prognostic and looks to expected outcomes, it is also

retrospective by analyzing actual results (Yanow, 2000). According to Cooper et al. (2004), "History shows the importance of policy evaluations and requires that assessment be done early, as part of the formulation and implementation processes" (p. 125). Policy evaluation is most worthwhile when it includes as a goal the improvement of the policy and its effects (Cooper et al., 2004).

Policy revision proceeds from policy evaluation. Cooper et al. (2004) contended that "For an evaluation to be valid, reliable, and credible, it must conform to basic tenets of scientific research practices and be practical in suggesting improvements" (p. 123). Yanow (2000) concurred when she envisaged revision of policy as the final of her five steps in the process of interpretive policy analysis. In the process, the tools of policy analysis assist the policymaker to decide between discordant positions or to reframe an old position or "the policy question itself, thereby leading to a new understanding among contesting parties that points to new avenues for action" (Yanow, 2000, p. 23).

Insofar as Ghana's 1995 policy on extra classes is concerned, it is a matter of whether it does or does not need revision. Policymaker B was of the opinion that "The policy itself, to me, does not require any revision. It is the mode of implementation and enforcement that, perhaps needs to be reviewed" (personal communication, February 26, 2010). My own position, as explained earlier in this chapter, is that the transmutation of the policy into an extended school day program is an unnecessary and damaging revision of the original policy. It detracts from the objectives of the original policy. The way forward would be to adhere to an approach to schooling that strengthens the culture of

homework and private study rather than the spoon-feeding approach of extra classes and the entrenched extended school day.

I would propose a thorough and comprehensive review and evaluation of the policy. This action should involve policymakers and policy implementers at national, regional, and district levels. This review would cover the four policy documents and other documents that emerged in the implementation process. The language used in them would be assessed, in view of formulating a revised policy for reenactment. It would also entail a thorough and honest evaluation of the implementation experience. From that evaluation, the revised policy would provide clear and realistic guidelines for implementation.

Furthermore, the review should propose ways to sensitize and educate all concerned parties on the policy and its objectives: management of schools, PTAs, teachers, teacher associations and unions, students, parents, the media, and the general public.[36] This would raise the bar of accountability for all concerned, and give stakeholders a real stake in the education system. Realistic and enforceable sanctions should be part of the revised policy. Texts of the policy should be given wide circulation. Apart from school heads, at least all teachers must be served. Periodic reminders may be necessary until the policy takes hold.

It is hoped that these proposals may restore hope to Ghana's education system and to all students sent to the schools built to help the young build their future. By salvaging

[36] According to Cooper et al. (2004), there is need for concerted effort: "Policy evaluation should consider, then, the degree to which participants are buying in to the goals of the program and understand them" (p. 126).

the education dreams of Ghana's youth, we are realizing our own dreams as a country. It is my hope that these suggestions will restore significance to Ghana's 1995 policy on extra classes and make this whole endeavor worthwhile and relevant.

Significance of the Study

The Ministry of Education organized a national forum in Accra, from May 27th to 28th, 2009, to discuss the duration of the Senior High School. The theme of the forum was: "Reaching a national consensus on the duration of the senior high school programme for affordable quality education in Ghana." I was fortunate to participate in this forum. At the end of the forum participants remained divided between a three-year duration, which had been the policy since the 1987 education reform, and a four-year duration, which was introduced in 2007. However, there was consensus on certain issues, including those that have been examined in this study, namely: accountability, the proper use of instructional time, equity and adequacy, access and participation, and social justice. Other consensus issues concerned adequate teacher remuneration and motivation, school infrastructure, provision of adequate teaching and learning materials, and the formulation of a national education policy that is not subject to the vagaries of party politics (GNA, 2009d).

This study was, therefore, not just an academic exercise. It was an eye opener, an opportunity to experience some aspects of the policy process in the Ghana education system. As a policy study, it was not intended to right the anomalies it uncovered. As McMillan and Schumacher (2006) observed, "evaluation studies and policy analysis cannot *correct* problems, but they can identify strengths and weaknesses, highlight

accomplishments, expose faulty areas, and focus on realistic policy alternatives" (p. 451). It is my hope that this research has achieved some of this.

This study is significant because it revived a dormant potent force in the Ghana education system. It aroused interest in a policy with an unlucky fate, but one whose objectives remain lofty and auspicious for education in Ghana. During the time I was engaged in document search and recruiting participants, I observed that the issue of extra classes popped up in the Ghanaian media. This was no mere coincidence. Indeed, during the interviews, participants welcomed the sight of the policy documents I had uncovered. The two policymakers gave indication that my research gave renewed impetus for intensifying the implementation of the policy.

In Ghana, it has been common for officials to claim that they are in the process of pursuing a plan or idea, or just about to do that, simply because it has been mentioned. In this case, Policymaker B claimed that "one of the things we are doing now is just like what you have done, ask the Director General to send these circulars back into the system, perhaps with a fresh letter, and clarifying certain…areas, for purposes of implementation" (personal communication, February 26, 2010). Forget the fact that the policy documents were nowhere within their reach.

This study, therefore, has an agenda-setting significance. It reminds Ghanaians about an important education issue that has been conveniently swept under the carpet. It draws policymakers' attention to a nagging problem that seems convenient to simply wish away. This study shows the way forward. It is a wakeup call to all stakeholders to take a long hard look at education delivery in the country. If they, sincerely, do not like

what they see, then they should stop playing the ostrich and institute corrective measures, in line with the recommendations proffered by this study. In this light, the current study supplements efforts made by other researchers, and other endeavors yet to be undertaken.

Follow-up Actions and Suggestions for Future Research

Many areas of relevance to this study were not targeted by the research questions and so remain to be covered. Other researchers can explore those areas or deepen what has been investigated here. The global perspective of this study was not amplified. I did not venture into how problems similar to the Ghana extra classes issue are handled elsewhere. For example, whereas in Ghana extra classes are the privilege of those who can pay, similar extended school services in the USA, like the 21st Century Community Learning Centers program, and all others in US public schools, serve the needs of the predominantly poor students (Meehan et al., 2004, p. 18). Also, I did not attempt a comparative study of time management in Ghana and other places.

This study did not include perspectives of students and teachers in Ghana or elsewhere, much as they would have enriched the findings. In dealing with the use of school time, I did not cover distinctions between syllabus, curriculum, and instruction—what is taught and how it is taught—nor did I focus on any of them specifically. Before I finally decided on the current topic, I considered a comparative study of how two high schools utilize time during school day, one of which did not indulge in extra classes while the other did. I could not pursue that research because I considered that an effective study would need to be longitudinal, and I could not fit into my time constraints.

The focus of this study was a particular education policy's impact on the marginalized Northern Ghana. Even though this bias could be applied to other areas of disadvantage in the country, more research could be done on other areas and aspects of the policy's impact. Researchers interested in the intricacies of the policy process itself may want to dig into the earlier stages of the policy and trace the factors that preceded its formation. Other researchers may want to investigate further those aspects of the Ghanaian psyche which engendered and encouraged the issues discussed in this study.

Conclusion

This study is one more illustration of the murky nature of education endeavor. No one seems to have clear answers as to how to *do* education. The education sector in Ghana and elsewhere seems to be characterized by the "trial and error" approach. Education research faces a similar conundrum. Cooper et al. (2004) observed that some researchers "have argued that although education research is well intentioned, it simply lacks the sophistication and acceptable methods to separate out the causes and effects of education policies and programs" (p. 109). This research definitely had its challenges.

Ghana's 1995 education policy on extra classes, the subject of this research, set out to correct some irregularities and attain certain objectives for the education system in that country. Policymakers were concerned that if the practice of extra classes were left unchecked, it was bound to take such a stranglehold on Ghana's education system that it would no longer be the extraordinary measure, but rather the ordinary approach to schooling. Even now, powerful factors and interest groups have ensured its perpetuation in one form or the other. A phobia has been created in students that they cannot pass their

exams without extra classes. Some perceptions are stronger than the reality, and this is one of them.

My firm conviction is that the solution to the challenges facing Ghanaian students lies not in more classes, but in better classes, not in more time, but in better use of time. In short, the accountable use of school time and material and human resources is paramount. There is no substitute for proper use of time. A wise saying advises thus: "Be more careful with your time than with your money: you can always replace money." Mismanaged or dissipated school time is an incalculable and irretrievable loss in terms of unachieved education goals. The argument that lost school time can always be made up with extra classes does not stick. There is no sense in dissipating time only to try to recoup it. The reward for work well done is the opportunity to do more. This is the way forward in the quest for quality education for all Ghanaian children, but especially for those in the more challenged areas, like Northern Ghana. Hence, the modification of the original policy on extra classes is tantamount to another systematic and policy-backed education marginalization of Northern Ghana. We can do better than that, as a country.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

LOYOLA MARYMOUNT UNIVERSITY
INFORMED CONSENT FORM

1) I hereby authorize Camillo Abatanie Bonsuuri to include me, _____, in the study he is conducting.
2) I have been asked to be interviewed as part of this research project which is designed to investigate the Ghana education policy on extra classes.
3) It has been explained to me that the reason for my inclusion in this project is because I am a policy maker/ educator.
4) I understand that if I am a subject, I will answer interview questions to the best of my knowledge and ability. The investigator will meet with me at a suitable date, time and place to be mutually agreed upon.
5) I understand that the interview will be audiotaped. It has been explained to me that these tapes will be used for research purposes only and that my identity will not be disclosed. I have been assured that the tapes will be destroyed after their use in this research project is completed. I understand that I have the right to review the tapes made as part of the study to determine whether they should be edited or erased in whole or in part.
6) I accept that I will not be rewarded personally for my participation. I, however, understand that the study will be beneficial to the Ghana Ministry of Education, the Ghana Education Service, and to general education delivery in Ghana.
7) I understand that if the use of the information is to be changed, I will be so informed and my consent reobtained.
8) I understand that no information that identifies me will be released without my separate consent except as specifically required by law.
9) I understand that I have the right to refuse to answer any question that I may not wish to answer.
10) I understand that circumstances may arise which might cause the investigator to terminate my participation before the completion of the study.
11) I understand that if I have any further questions, comments, or concerns about the study or the informed consent process, I may contact Mary McCullough, Ph.D., 1 LMU Drive, Suite 3000, Loyola Marymount University, 310-338-2863, mccullo@lmu.edu (Supervisor of this study).

12) In signing this consent form, I acknowledge receipt of a copy of this form.

13) Subject's Signature_____

Date: _____

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

1. This study that I am conducting is about the 1995 policy banning the practice of those special extra classes organized by teachers for which they charge special fees. What led to the formulation of this policy banning extra classes? To what extent did the education reform of 1987, which introduced the Junior Secondary School (JSS) system, contribute to the proliferation of extra classes?

2. What are the problems addressed by the policy on extra classes? What values does it seek to protect?

3. How do you think the policy is affecting the weaker communities or persons (rural, poor, females, etc.)? More adversely, or more beneficially? Please explain. How should the policy, and its application, reckon with rural-urban, rich-poor, and north-south disparities in the country?

4. What are the intended and unintended consequences of this policy on education in Ghana, especially secondary education in Northern Ghana? Is the policy achieving the desired effects?

5. My preliminary findings suggest that, in Southern Ghana, PTAs and school administrations have generally responded to the policy by sanctioning and financing extended school day programs, while in the North, this has not been the case. Is that the reality? If so, do you think the policy further worsens the north-south education stratification?

6. How does the policy on extra classes relate to accountability in regard to the use of school time? In your estimation, how, and to what extent, does the policy impact access and participation, equity, adequacy, and student achievement?

7. Do you have anything else to add to this interesting conversation?

APPENDIX C

ASSESSMENT FOR ACCOUNTABILITY:

USA/CALIFORNIA EDUCATION LAW

Every education system has in place ways of evaluating the performance of schools, faculty and students. Following the publication of *Nation at Risk*, in 1983, focus on assessment and accountability was sharpened in the USA (Dunklee & Shoop, 2006; Kemerer et al., 2005). When federal government took the rare step of intervening in education nationwide, with the policy of No Child Left Behind (US Senate and House of Representatives, January 8, 2002) education delivery received a new impetus, with a fresh look at ways of ensuring all children succeed in school (Dunklee & Shoop, 2006; Kemerer et al., 2005). Among other things, NCLB insisted on adequate yearly progress (AYP) for all schools.

School Accountability

Schools need students to exist; but schools need to be student-worthy before they take in students. They need to be suitable places of instruction and learning. This requires that they provide conducive, safe and orderly environments. It is for good reason, therefore, that schools are protected by law from undue intrusion by outsiders, or persons who do not normally belong to the school community. School administrators are empowered by law to insure law and order in school. Hence, visitors need to register their visit, if the visit is within school hours, school hours being "defined to mean an hour before school begins and an hour after school ends" (Kemerer et al., 2005, p. 53). According to Section 32210 of the California Education Code, willful disruption of the

school or school activity constitutes a punishable misdemeanor (Kemerer et al., 2005). Both students and non-students, including parents, faculty, and school employees come under this law (Kemerer et al., 2005).

School accountability also requires that schools assist students to succeed. NCLB exhorts all public schools to not fail the children sent to them. It prescribes penalties for persistent low-performance on the part of schools in assessment tests (Kemerer et al., 2005). Penalties include the failing school joining program improvement plans, permission for parents to remove their wards from the school, replacement of (most of) the staff of the school, changing the curriculum, and "converting the school to a charter school or allowing private education management organization (EMO) to operate the school" (Kemerer et al., 2005, p. 84-5).

California public and charter schools are also governed by the Public School Performance Accountability Program. This is a 1999 state legislation that allows for intervention to assist low-performing schools, while rewarding high-performing ones (Dunklee & Shoop, 2006; Kemerer et al., 2005). Under this law, public and charter schools are required to advance by 5% Academic Performance Index (API) annually. The API "focuses on student academic achievement and is a determinant of a school's adequate yearly progress under NCLB" (Kemerer et al., 2005, p. 86).

Another way to measure proper use of instructional time is the prescription of curriculum content standards. "The idea behind the standards is to specify the content that students need to acquire as they progress through public schools" (Kemerer et al., 2005, p. 57). Notwithstanding arguments that the imposition of content standards "diminishes

the autonomy of the school district and the classroom teacher, as well as dampens classroom spontaneity" (Kemerer et al., 2005, p. 58), it seems to me that such standards are a helpful guide, and give policymakers an idea of what is going on in the classroom during instructional time.

Class size is another factor that impacts the efficacious management of instructional time, even though "research findings on class size reduction have been mixed" (Kemerer et al., 2005, p. 61). The way class size affects instruction and outcomes is that it relates to problems of indiscipline, and reduced individual attention, that larger class sizes entail. The California Education Code accepts the position that small class sizes enhance learning, and so encourages school districts to reduce class sizes, enticing them with extra funding to do so, while imposing funding sanctions to discourage extra large classes (Kemerer et al., 2005).

Teacher Accountability

Teachers have the moral responsibility to teach, imposed on them by their profession (Mele-McCarthy, 2007). Hence, teachers assist schools fulfill their accountability, in regard to instructional time management. But this requires having the right caliber or quality of teachers. This is because "research has consistently shown that teacher quality and experience play a role in student achievement" (Kemerer et al., 2005, p. 64). In line with this, NCLB has a strong requirement for all public schools to be staffed with highly qualified teachers (Dunklee & Shoop, 2006; Kemerer et al., 2005). Accountability requires that teachers prove their worth and suitability. In California, the high, objective, uniform state standard of evaluation (HOUSSE) is one measure used to

establish the ability and skill of teachers. Also, the California Standards for the Teaching Profession insist on certain competences, which are relevant to instructional time management:

> These [competences] encompass six areas: engaging and supporting all students in learning, creating and maintaining effective environments for student learning, understanding and organizing subject matter for student learning, planning instruction and designing learning expectations for all students, assessing student learning, and developing as a professional educator. (Kemerer et al., 2005, p. 66)

Obviously, a teacher who is not competent in at least most, if not all, of these areas could not utilize contact hours to maximum student benefit, even if he/she was given twenty-four hours a day as instructional time.

Student Accountability

In order to manage instructional time properly, that time must be made available, in the first place. This requirement means that teachers and students must be in school. As Kemerer et al. (2005, p. 44) assert, "before instruction can begin, students have to be in school." This is why school attendance is mandatory, and truancy or lateness punishable by law. The California Education Code Sections 48200 and 48204 stipulate that, "unless otherwise exempt, students between the ages of six and 18 are to be admitted to public schools of the district on a fulltime basis…" (Kemerer et al., 2005, p. 45). Children in this age bracket may be exempted, provided they are in a private school or receiving proper home-schooling (Dunklee & Shoop, 2006; Kemerer et al., 2005).

Students also need to give a good account of themselves if they hope to succeed. NCLB requires student testing, in order to ascertain student progress. This testing "must be aligned with the state's curriculum standards, and each school must make adequate

yearly progress on the state's assessments toward having all students achieve 100 percent proficiency by 2013-2014" (Kemerer et al., 2005, p. 79). In the State of California, the main student testing of interest to this discussion are the Standardized Testing and Reporting (STAR) and California High School Exit Examination (CAHSEE). STAR consists mainly of "the California Standards Test that assesses student progress in grades two through eleven in achieving the state's curriculum content standards" (Kemerer et al., 2005, p. 81). STAR also tests California students on basic skills vis-à-vis their counterparts in the rest of the country, while the third component of STAR is given only to English learners of Spanish background (Kemerer et al., 2005).

Besides STAR, CAHSEE is mandatory testing in California. This is the exam that students must pass to obtain a high school diploma. It tests for mastery in "English language arts and mathematics as specified in the state's curriculum content standards" (Kemerer et al., 2005, p. 83). This exam is the counterpart of Ghana's West African Senior High School Certificate Examinations (SHSCE), formerly West African Senior School Certificate Examinations (WASSCE), except that students are examined in at least six core and elective subjects, including math and English language, in the SHSCE.

REFERENCES

Accra Research Department, WAEC. (1993). Ghana basic education certificate exams (BECE): Relationship between internal and external assessments. Retrieved from http://www.adeanet. org/wgesa/ en/doc/ Ghana/appencies.htm

Addae-Mensah, I. Djangmah, J. S., & Agbenyega. (1973). *Family background and education opportunities in Ghana.* Accra, Ghana. Ghana University Press.

Adjei, B. J. (2003). Factors affecting academic performance of selected senior secondary school students in the Kumasi metropolis, Ghana. (Unpublished Masters Thesis). Cape Coast University, Ghana.

Adjei, S. H. K. (2002) Teacher role and instructional time management in Kete-Krachi Secondary—Ghana. (Unpublished Masters Thesis). Cape Coast University, Ghana.

Afterschool Alliance. (2003). Afterschool alliance backgrounder: Formal evaluations of afterschool programs. Retrieved from http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal

Amaoo, J. G. (2007). *Ghana: 50 years of independence.* Accra, Ghana: Jafint Ent.

Ampiah, J. G. (2004). An investigation of provision of quality basic education in Ghana: A case study of selected schools in Central Region. Retrieved from http://home.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/cice/Kampala_Ghana.ppt#256,1

Anamuah-Mensah, J. (2002). *Report of the President's committee on review of education reforms in Ghana*. Accra, Ghana: Adwinsa Publications.

Atagra, C. (2009a, April 15). Extra classes. *The Ghanaian Times.* Retrieved from http://www.newtimesonline.com/content/view/19343/48/

Atagra, C. (2009b, April 16). Extra classes exploitative – CHASS. *The Ghanaian Times.* Retrieved from http://www.newtimesonline.com/content/view/19354/48/

Atakpa, S. K. (1996). *Factors affecting female participation in education in relation to the northern scholarship scheme.* Accra, Ghana: Ministry of Education.

Atakpa, S. K. & Ankomah, Y. A. (1998). Baseline study on the state of school management in Ghana. University of Cape Coast: *Journal of Educational Management 1* (1)1-20.

Atuahene, F. (2006). A policy analysis of the financing of tertiary education institutions in Ghana: An assessment of the objectives and the impact of the Ghana education trust fund. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Ohio University, OH.

Avotri, R. S. (1993). Comparative analysis of the traditional and the integrated curricula in Ghanaian secondary schools. *Issues of Education Research, 3*(1), 47-55.

Baenen, N. R., Lindblad, M., & Yaman, K. (2002). Can extended learning opportunities improve student achievement? *E & R Report*. Retrieved from http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal

Bardach, E. (1977). *The implementation game: What happens after a bill becomes a law.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Baum, L. (1981). Comparing the implementation of legislative and judicial policies. In D. A. Mazmanian & P. A. Sabatier (Eds.), *Effective policy implementation* (pp. 39-62). Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Bening, R. B. (1972). Development of education in northern Ghana. *Ghana Social Science Journal, 1*(2), 2-42.

Bening, R. B. (1990). *A history of education northern Ghana, 1907-1976.* Accra, Ghana: Ghana University Press.

Bloom, B. S. (1980). *All of our children learning.* New York, NY: McGraw Hill.

Boakye, A. (2006). Attitude of teachers towards the use of instructional time in public primary schools in the Kwabre District of Ghana. (Unpublished Masters Thesis). Cape Coast University, Ghana.

Boss, S. (2002). The barefoot hours: Out-of-school programs offer to make the most of kids' free time. *Northwest Education, 7*(4), 2-7. Retrieved from http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal

Bown, L. (1990). *Preparing the future, women literacy and development: The impact of female literacy on human development and the participation of literate women in change.* Bristol, CT: Action Aid.

Brewster, C., & Railsback, J. (2002). Full-day kindergarten: Exploring an option for extended learning. Retrieved from http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERIC WebPortal

Buchmann, C., & Hannum, E. (2001). Education and stratification in developing countries: A review of theories and research. *Annual Review of Sociology, 27*, 77-102.

Chao, S., & Alper, O. (1998). *Accessing basic education in Ghana.* Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/education/educprog/erd/english/wgesa/doc/ghana/summaries34.htm

Coleman, J. S., Campbell, E., Hobson, C., McPartland, J., & Mood, A, Weinfeld, F. D., & York, R. L. (1966). *Equality of education opportunity.* Washington, DC: Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Cooper, B. S., Fusarelli, L. D., & Randall, E. V. (2004). *Better policies, better schools: Theories and applications*. Boston, MA: Pearson Education.

De Heer-Amissah, A., et al. (Education Reform Review Committee). (1994). *Report of Education Review Committee on pre-tertiary education.* Retrieved from http://www.adeanet.org/wgesa/en/doc/Ghana/appencies.htm

Denham, R., & Lieberman, J. E. (1980). Impact of time on students' achievement. Retrieved from http:www.mcrel.org/toolkit/res/time.asp

Dickson, K. B. (1968). Background to the problems of economic development in Northern Ghana. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 58*(4), 686-696.

Dunklee, D. R., & Shoop, R. J. (2006). *The principal's quick-reference: Guide to school law*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Dye, T. R. (1992). *Understanding public policy* (7th ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Dynarski, M., James-Burdumy, S., Moore, M., Rosenburg, L., Deke, J., & Mansfield, W. (2004). *When schools stay open late: The national evaluation of the 21st century community learning centers program: New findings.* U. S. Department of Education, National Centre for Education Evaluation and Regional Assistance. Washington, DC: U. S. Government Printing Office.

Editorial. (2008, September 17). *Ghanaian Times.* No wonder so many extra classes. Posted on http://www.modernghana.com/news/117041/1/stop-the-extra-classes-minister.html

EduNet Forum. (2004, March 22). *Education Net Forum*. Discussion of extra classes. Ministry of Education and Training. Headquarters, Accra, Ghana.

Ewusi, K. (1976). Levels of regional development in Ghana. *Social Indicators Research, 3*(1), 75-100.

Farmer-Hinton, R. L. (2002). When time matters: Examining the impact and distribution of extra instruction time. Retrieved from http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal

Foster, M., & Zormelo, D. (2002). How, when and why does poverty get budget priority? Poverty reduction strategy and public expenditure in Ghana. Retrieved from http://www.adeanet.org/wgesa/en/doc/Ghana/appencies.htm

Fowler, F. C. (2000). *Policy studies for education leaders: An introduction*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill.

Fraenkel, J. R., & Wallen, L. (2003). *How to design and evaluate research in education.* New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Fuller, B., & Robinson, R. (1992). *The political construction of education.* New York, NY: Praeger.

Gadugah, N. (2009). Upper East Minister imposes travel ban on under aged children**.** Retrieved from http://news.myjoyonline.com/news/200908/33961.asp

Gagliardi, P. (1990). Artifacts as pathways and remains of organizational life. In P. Gagliardi (Ed.), *Symbols and artifacts* (pp. 3-38). New York, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.

Ghana Education Service (GES) Council. (2000). *Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT) conditions and scheme of service and the code of professional conduct*. Accra, Ghana: Benediction Printing Press.

Ghana Education Service (GES). (2004). *Code of discipline for secondary schools/ technical institutions*. Accra, Ghana: Equal Vision Ventures.

GhanaNewsToday. (2005, October 6). Parents urged to reduce burden on pupils. Retrieved from http://www.ghananewstoday.com/news_readmore.php?id=179

GNA. (2003, September 18). *Regional News.* Parents express concern about extra classes. Retrieved from http://www.modernghana.com/news/41203/1/parents-expressed-concern-about-extra-classes.html

GNA. (2007). Reverse Socio-Cultural Barriers To Girls' Education—Research. Retrieved from http://www.ghana.gov.gh/ghana/reverse_socio_cultural_barriers_girls_ education_research.jsp

GNA. (2008, May 14). *MyJoyOnline.* IRS says extra classes' money taxable**.** Retrieved from http://news.myjoyonline.com/news/200805/16252.asp

GNA. (2009a, February 19). *General News.* Mills calls for teamwork, unity in state of the nation address. Retrieved from http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=157950

GNA. (2009b, April 15). Government will address problems that threaten education. Retrieved from http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=160591

GNA. (2009c, April 20). Colonial policy cause of illiteracy and poverty in north. *GhanaWeb.* Retrieved from http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/rtikel.php?ID=161320

GNA. (2009d, August 4). *MyJoyOnline.* Why Ghana returned to three-year Senior High School. Retrieved from http://news.myjoyonline.com/education/200908/33544.asp

Government of Ghana. (1961). *Act 87: Education Act, 1961.* Accra: Government Printer.

Government of Ghana. (2007a). *Ghana education reform 2007*. Retrieved from http://www. ghana.gov.gh/ghana/education_reform_2007_glance.jsp)

Government of Ghana. (2007b). *Ghana's education system.* Retrieved from Ghana Official Portal. URL**:**http://www.ghana.gov.gh/ghanas_education_system

Graham, C. K. (1976). *The history of education in Ghana.* Accra: Ghana Publishing.

Halsey, A. H., Heath, A. F., & Ridge, J. M. (1980). *Origins and destinations: Family, class, and education in modern Britain*. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press.

Hannum, E., & Buchmann, C. (2003). *The consequences of global education expansion: Social science perspectives.* Cambridge, MA: American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Hatch, J. A. (2002). *Doing qualitative research in education settings*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Heyneman, S. P., & Lowley, W. A. (1983). The effect of primary school quality on academic achievement across twenty-nine high- and low-income countries. *American Journal of Sociology, 88,* 1162-1194.

Hollowood, T. M., Salisbury, C. J., Rainforth, B., & Palombaro, M. M. (1994, December 1). Use of instructional time in classrooms serving students with and without severe disabilities. *Exceptional children.* Retrieved from http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-15974996.html

hooks, b. (2000). *Where we stand: Class matters.* New York, NY: Routeledge.

Information Services Department (2008). *Ghana: An official handbook.* India: Blue Bird (India).

Johnson, B. & Christensen, L. (2008). *Education research: Quantitative, qualitative, and mixed approaches* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Johnson, B. M. (2008). *The miseducation of the underclass: A historical political analysis of No Child Left Behind.* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, CA.

Joy News. (2009, October 28). Ghana slips down on international rankings on sexual equality. Retrieved from http://news.myjoyonline.com/news/200910/37009.asp

Kemerer, F., Sansom, P., & Kemerer, J. (2005). *California school law.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

King, E., & Lillard, L. A. (1987). Education policy and schooling attainment in Malaysia and the Philippines. *Economic Education Review, 6,* 167-181.

Koomson, A. K., Akyeampong, A. K., & Fobih, D. K. (1999). Management of instructional time in some Ghanaian schools. *Journal of Education Management, 2,* 30-41.

Kozol, J. (2005). *Shame of the nation: The restoration of apartheid schooling in America.* New York, NY: Three Rivers Press.

Kraft, R. Adipah, B. K., Dzinyela, J. M., Anku, K., Gala, K., Godwyll, F.,…Okyere, B. (1995). A tale of two Ghanas: The view from the classroom. Retrieved from http://www.adeanet.org/wgesa/en/doc/Ghana/appencies.htm

Kyei, P. O. (2000). *Decentralisation and poverty alleviation in rural Ghana: Perspectives from district elites and voices of the rural poor.* Retrieved from http://www.adeanet.org/wgesa/en/doc/Ghana/appencies.htm

Lareau, A. (1989). *Home advantage: Social class and parental intervention in elementary education.* Philadelphia, PA: Falmer.

Larson, J. S. (1980). *Why government programs fail.* New York, NY: Praeger.

Lockheed, M. E., & Longford, N. T. (1991). School effects on mathematics achievement gain in Thailand. In S. W. Raudenbush & J. D. Willms (Eds.), *Schools, classrooms and pupils: International studies of schooling from a multi-level perspective* (pp. 131-148). San Diego, CA: Academic.

Lockheed, M. E., & Verspoor, A. M. (1991). *Improving primary education in developing countries*. Washington, DC: World Bank, Oxford University Press.

Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD). (2008). Focus on Learning: Visiting Committee Report for Sylmar High School. Sylmar, CA.

Lumsden, L. (2003). Afterschool programs. ERIC Digest. Retrieved from http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal

Madsen, J. (1994). *Education reform at the state level: The politics and the problems of implementation.* Washington, DC: Falmer.

McMillan, J. H., & Schumacher, S. (2006). *Research in education.* Boston, MA: Pearson Education.

Meehan, L. M., Cowley, K. S., Chadwick, K., Schumacher, D., & Hauser, B. (2004). *Evaluation of a ten-year statewide after-school program for struggling learners*. San Diego, CA: Appalachia Education Laboratory (AEL).

Mele-McCarthy, J. A. (2007, January 1). NCLB assessment for accountability: Good teaching or teaching to the test? *Perspectives*. Retrieved from http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P3-1263993081.html

Mettle-Nunoo, R., & Hilditch, L. (2000). Donor participation in the education sector in Ghana. (Report). Retrieved from http://www.actionaid.org.uk/doc_lib/134_1_donor_ghana.pdf

Metzker, B. (2003). Time and Learning. ERIC Digest. Retrieved from http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal

Ministry of Education-GES. (1995a). Organisation of extra classes. Circular letter of January 16, 1995, to all Regional and District Directors: GES/DD-G/005/VOL.III/146. Headquarters, Accra, Ghana.

Ministry of Education-GES. (1995b). Press release: Review of ban on extra classes. Released to news media April 4, 1995. Headquarters, Accra, Ghana.

Ministry of Education-GES. (1995c). Monitoring of the ban on extra classes. Circular letter of 27th July, 1995, to all District Directors: GES/DDG1/01/190. Headquarters, Accra.

Ministry of Education. (1996). *The programme for Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (fCUBE) by the year 2005*. Accra, Ghana: Government Printer.

Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports (2004). *White paper on the report of Education Review Committee.* Accra, Ghana.

Ministry of Education-GES. (2009a). Immediate freeze on PTA levies in senior high schools. Circular letter of June 15, 2009, to Divisional & Regional Directors of Education, Metropolitan, Municipal and District Directors, GES; Heads of institutions, Regional Managers of Unit Schools: GES/DG.105/V/63.

Ministry of Education-GES. (2009b). Guidelines for PTA dues and other charges. Circular letter of August 12, 2009, to all Regional Directors of Education, District Directors of Education, Heads of second cycle institutions, Heads of Education Units: EP 2765/ VI/ 144.

ModernGhana. (2005, May 31). *General News.* Stop the extra classes—Minister. Retrieved from http://www.modernghana.com/news/ 117041/1/stop-the-extra-classes-minister.html

Mongabay (2009. Ghana—Society. Retrieved from http://www.mongabay. com/reference/country_studies/ghana/SOCIETY.html

Moore, K. D. (1998). *Effective instructional strategies: From theory to practice.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Naameh, P. (2003). Peace, stability, and development in Northern Ghana. Keynote address given at the 2003 Northern Easter School, held in Wa, Ghana, from the 11th to 16th April, 2003.

Nyarko-Sampson, E. (2004). *Study habits among senior secondary school students in some selected districts in Central Region, Ghana.* (Unpublished Masters Thesis). Cape Coast University, Ghana.

Odden, A. R. (1991). The evolution of education policy implementation. In A. R. Odden (Ed.), *Education policy implementation* (pp. 1-12). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Odden, A. R., & Picus, L. O. (2008). *School finance: A policy perspective.* New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Opare, J. A. (1999). Academic achievement in private and public schools: Management makes the difference. University of Cape Coast: *Journal of Education Management, 2*, 1-12.

Osseo-Asare, K (2009). *If you educate a girl…you educate a nation, Part I.* Retrieved from http://aqueousol.blogspot.com/2009/05/if-you-educate-girl-you-educate-nation.html

Oti-Agyen, P., Archer, F., & Asiamah, K. Y. (2005). *The development of education in Ghana.* Accra, Ghana: Sunkwa Printing Press.

Peaker, G. (1971). *The Plowden children four years later.* London: National Foundation for Education Research in England and Wales.

Peters, B. G. (1986). *American public policy: Promise and performance* (2nd ed.). London, England: MacMillan.

Pryor, J. (2005). Can community participation mobilize social capital for improvement of rural schooling? A case study from Ghana. *Compare, 35*(2), 193-203.

Pryor, J., & Ampiah, J. G. (2004). Community Participation in rural schooling: the cart before the horse, a case study from Ghana. Retrieved from http://www.adeanet.org/wgesa/en/doc/Ghana/appencies.htm

Quianoo, J. (1995, January 12). Extra classes banned. *Daily Graphic,* p. 1.

Quist, H. O. (2003). Secondary education—A 'tool' for national development in Ghana. A critical appraisal of the post-colonial context. *Africa Development, 28*(3 & 4), 186-210.

RAINS Consultancy. (1997). The status of basic education in the area affected by the conflict of 1994 in the Northern Region of Ghana. Retrieved from http://www.adeanet.org/wgesa/en/doc/Ghana/appencies.htm

Ray, R. (2001). The determinants of child labour and child schooling in Ghana. Retrieved from http://www.adeanet.org/wgesa/en/doc/Ghana/appencies.htm

Republic of Ghana (1992). *1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana.* Accra, Ghana: Government Printer.

Riddell, A. R. (1989). An alternative approach to the study of school effectiveness in third world countries. *Comparative Education Review, 33*, 481-497.

Sabatier, P. A., & Mazmanian, D. A. (1981). The implementation of public policy : A framework of analysis. In D. A Mazmanian & P. A. Sabatier (Eds.), *Effective policy implementation* (pp. 3-35). Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Songsore, J. (1979). Structural crisis, dependent capitalist development and regional inequality in Ghana. I.S.S. Occasional Papers, No. 71. Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, Holland.

Songsore, J. (1989). The spatial impress and dynamics of underdevelopment in Ghana. In K. Swindell, J. M. Baba, & M. J Mortimore (Eds.). *Inequality and development: Case studies from the third world* (pp. 23-41). The Commonwealth Foundation, Harrisburg, PA: Macmillan Publishers (pp. 23-41).

Soulhour. (2005, July 11). *Ghana Internet Radio in Amsterdam: Regional News.* Teachers asked not to organize extra classes. Retrieved from http://www. soulhouronline.com/Soulhour/newsdetails.asp?id=1067&cat_id=8

Sowah, A. A. (2003). *Improved teacher performance at Pope John Secondary School and Junior Seminary through time management techniques.* Unpublished Masters Thesis. Cape Coast University, Ghana.

Stromquist, N., & Monkman, K. (2000). *Globalization and education. Integration and contestation across cultures.* Landham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Tsikata, D., & Seini, W. (2004). *Identities, inequalities and conflicts in Ghana.* Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE) Working Paper 5, University of Oxford, Oxford, England.

Ulf, F., Fumador, A. & Nyoagbe, J. (1998). *The effects of structural adjustment on the education sector in Africa: The case of Ghana.* Retrieved from http://www. unesco.org/education/educprog/erd/english/wgesa/doc/ghana/ summaries34.htm

US Senate and House of Representatives. (2001). *No child left behind Act of 2001.* Retrieved from http://www.ed.gov/policy/elsec/leg/esea02/107-110.pdf

Webb, L. D., & Norton, M. S. (2009). Human resources administration: Personnel issues and needs in education. Upper Saddler River, NJ: Pearson Education.

Wikipedia. *Ghana*. Retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ghana

World Bank. (2002). *Achieving education for all by 2015: Simulation results for 47 low-income countries.* Washington, DC: World Bank.

Yanow, D. (1996). *How does a policy mean? Interpreting policy and organizational actions.* Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Yanow, D. (2000). *Conducting interpretive policy analysis*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Zakaluk, B. L., & Straw, S. B. (2002). The efficacy of an extended-day kindergarten program: A report for the St. James school division (1999-2000, 2000-2001). Retrieved from http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal

Zan, S. A., & van Klinken, R. (2008). Ghana: Why the North matters. *Pambazuka News.* Retrieved from http://pambazuka.org/en/category/comment/48821